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CHAPTER I

Introduction.

The Hua (or Flowery) Miao of South West China

A Study of a pre-Chinese People.

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CHAPTER I. Introduction.

From the "Shu Ching" (the Chinese Book of History) we learn that some two thousand years B.C. a half savage aboriginal people, the Miao, occasioned considerable trouble in the times of Shun and his successor the Great Yü. These sage emperors were both obliged to take active measures against the Miao and apparently had difficulty in establishing their sway over what may be termed Miao territory which at that time seems to have been Hupeh, Hunan and Kianghsi. (See Legge's Translation of the "Shu Ching", Part 2, Book I, Chap. 3, para. 12; Pt. 2, Bk. II, Ch. 3, pp. 20-21; Pt. 5, Bk. XXVII, p. 5). Since those far away days the Miao have been gradually brought into subjection. As the Chinese have increased the Miao have decreased, and today though they still retain their own dress and customs they are entirely under Chinese rule and are called "tame Miao", which means that they have learned agriculture and pay taxes. As recently as one hundred and fifty years ago there were "seng" or Independent Miao but none are now to be found. They are being slowly crushed out or absorbed by the immortal Chinese and the process of absorption may still be observed in South West China.

At the present time Miao or as they are sometimes called Miao-tzu ("Miao" means "growing grain, sprouts, shoots", "tzu" means "sons") are met with on the hills of Yunnan and Kweichou, in Western and Southern Szechuan, Hunan, Kwangtung and Kwanghsi where they cultivate the soil and hunt whatever prey may be found. They have also extended into Tong-king and a few into the Shan states, and it is thought that the aborigines of Hainan may be descended from Miao. Divided into many tribes, and called from the colour of their dress, the Black Miao, the Flowery (or Hua) Miao, the Red Miao, the White or Ch'uan Miao, the Magpie Miao, the West-of-the-water Miao, and numerous other kinds of Miao; they are yellow skinned, with straight black hair, of medium stature and classed by Dr A.C. Haddon as mesocephalic and platyrrhinic (A.C. Haddon's The Races of Man, pp. 87-88). My measurements, which are available, indicate that the Hua Miao are brachycephalic [redacted].

Frederick S.A. Bourne divides S.W. China languages into Lolo, Shan and Miao-tzu; (Bourne's Report of a journey in S.W. China, Appendix 3). Major H.R. Davies divides them into Mon-Khmer, Shan and Tibeto-Burman families, and subdivides the Mon-Khmer family into Miao-Yao, the Min-chia and the Wa-Palaung groups. The Miao and Yao languages, though they lack close resemblance to the Cambodian (or Khmer), Talain (or Mon) and Annamese languages, are classified with the Mon-Khmer family, because of the construction of their sentences; (Yunnan,

The Link between India and the Yangtzu, pp. 337-347, by H.R. Davies). In vocabulary there seems to me to be no similarity between Miao-tzu and either the Shan or the Mon-Khmer languages and I observe that the 1921 "Census of India Report" separated the Miao and Yao languages from the Mon-Khmer branch and formed them into a distinct branch; (Census of India, 1921, Part I, p.194). (In that year the speakers numbered 591 only, as these two races are comparatively recent immigrants into the Indian Empire). In an Appendix I will give a short list of Hua Miao sentences and a full list of their classifiers (numerators of nouns) which Professor T.C. Hodson assures me have considerable linguistic value.

The Black Miao, so called because they wear dark-coloured clothes, are the most important and intelligent tribe of the Miao. An account of these was given by S.R. Clarke in "Among the Tribes in South West China" published in 1911 wherein he gives several aboriginal vocabularies.

The Hua Miao are the second most important tribe; "Hua" means "flowery, parti-coloured", and the people are named Hua Miao because their festive garments are beautifully embroidered. It is the Hua Miao which I purpose to describe in this dissertation. In Kweichou the traveller will encounter Ta Hua Miao (Big Flowery Miao) and Hsiao Hua Miao (Little Flowery Miao) but here I deal only with Hua Miao of whom I estimate there are at least a quarter of a million in the two provinces of Yunnan

and Kweichou. The greater part of Kweichou is at least three thousand feet above the sea and as the traveller goes west into Yunnan the altitude gradually increases until in N.W. Kweichou and N.E. Yunnan, districts largely inhabited by the Hua Miao, a height of six thousand feet is reached. The hills do not appear to be high but they are everywhere, an ocean of hills and valleys, and probably only one third of the surface is cultivated or cultivable. These hills are for the most part barren, and there is little timber to be seen. Throughout this area the Hua Miao, who call themselves Hmao-nglao ("Hmao" is "Miao", "Nglao" means "flowery"), are serfs or tenants of the Ipien (i.e. Lolos or Nosu) and are described by travellers as being gentle and docile; no lovers of fighting; frugal and simple; hospitable, and though poor, honest. This my sojourns amongst them fully verify.

In the art of writing the Hua Miao have not gone beyond the use of notched sticks but a class of bards and tale-tellers has preserved orally their myths and legends. Having no written records their early history consists more or less of traditions handed down by memory from ages now long past. They tell how, after long and bloody fighting, their fore-fathers were driven from the north-east to the south of the Yang-tzu (I can find no evidence to confirm this); they repeat generation by generation the names of chiefs who strove against the invading Chinese; they speak of their ancestors' irrigated

rice fields and of their skill in medicine. Possibly they were the first of the Miao tribes to move into Kweichou. In Yunnan they are comparatively recent arrivals, many of them having left their original homes in Kweichou only four or five generations ago. I have tried to trace through their legends where the ancestor chiefs originated but as the names of places cannot be identified the task has proved impossible. One legend states that the first ancestor-chieftain, Key-yāh-yoe-lao, lived in Lao-wu (I cannot locate Lao-wu) seventeen li (a li is about one third of a mile) from the Yang-tzu. He was a man of great human feelings, of wide reputation, of considerable intelligence and of immense courage. The greatest archer in the land he was a fearless fighter; he wore a grass cape and rode a grey-coloured mule which travelled like a flying bird.

Times became troubled. A Chinese chief, Key-yāh-vao-tzu-lao came from Vao-ti ("Vao" means "Chinese", "ti" "land", "Vao-ti" means "the land where the Chinese dwell") to cross the Yang-tzu. Key-yāh-yoe-lao's heart was ill at ease and the people were rebellious (... against the coming of the Chinese). Seeing a rough stone Kay-yāh-yoe-lao ground his sword and made it very sharp; seeing a hard stone he ground his spear and made it very keen. Placing his soldiers in file to withstand (the intruders), Key-yāh-yoe-lao with his seasoned bow on his back and his arrows by his side drove back the Chinese who ran in all

directions. By the help of his foot Key-yāh-yoe-lao drew back the string of his bow and fixing in arrows released them into the backs of the enemy. Unable to resist, the Chinese went back to their own land. Key-yāh-vao-tzu-lao was undaunted and being clever he thought of other plans. What did he do ? He made boats, boats which would cross constantly; over the river he stretched many ropes made of hemp and bamboo, the boats floated over bringing troops both numerous and orderly. Though Key-yāh-yoe-lao's heart sank he brought his soldiers in serried ranks to resist. The Chinese troops which were numberless came on like armies of ants, and Key-yāh-yoe-lao could not withstand them. They captured his horse. Key-yāh-vao-tzu-lao routed the Miao and kept on pounding them. The Chinese troops constantly blew cow-horns, some called, others answered. The Chinese firecrackers sounded everywhere; the Chinese stamped their feet (to frighten the Miao). Key-yāh-vao-tzu-lao utterly defeated Key-yāh-yoe-lao and capturing him crushed him on a rock, Key-yāh-yoe-lao bellowing loudly. His offspring who dwelt in Lao-wu were driven away. Where did these people go ? They went in large companies to Lao-ngli (in Kweichou). Key-yāh-vao-tzu-lao's descendants came to Lao-ngli when once again Key-yāh-yoe-lao's offspring fled. Where did they flee to ? They fled to a hill near Yang-kai-tzu and settled in twelve villages. (At the present time the Hua Miao are found living near to Yang-kai-tzu) Thus runs the legend.

The Hua Miao sing of three ancestor-chieftains, Key-yāh-yoe-lao, Ge-chih -yoe-lao and Ga-sao-hmao-bŭ. This is of interest because Chinese dictionaries refer to the San Miao being in Hunan in the days of Yao and Shun. "San" means "three" and though San Miao is usually understood to refer to the name of a district it may indicate three Miao. This we do not know. We do know, however, that more than four thousand years ago there was a clash of culture between aborigines and Chinese. Who were these pre-Chinese people ? What were their life, customs, religion and language ? In the following chapters I will describe the social organization, customs, religious beliefs and language of the Hua Miao who are the direct descendants of a people dislodged by the Chinese.

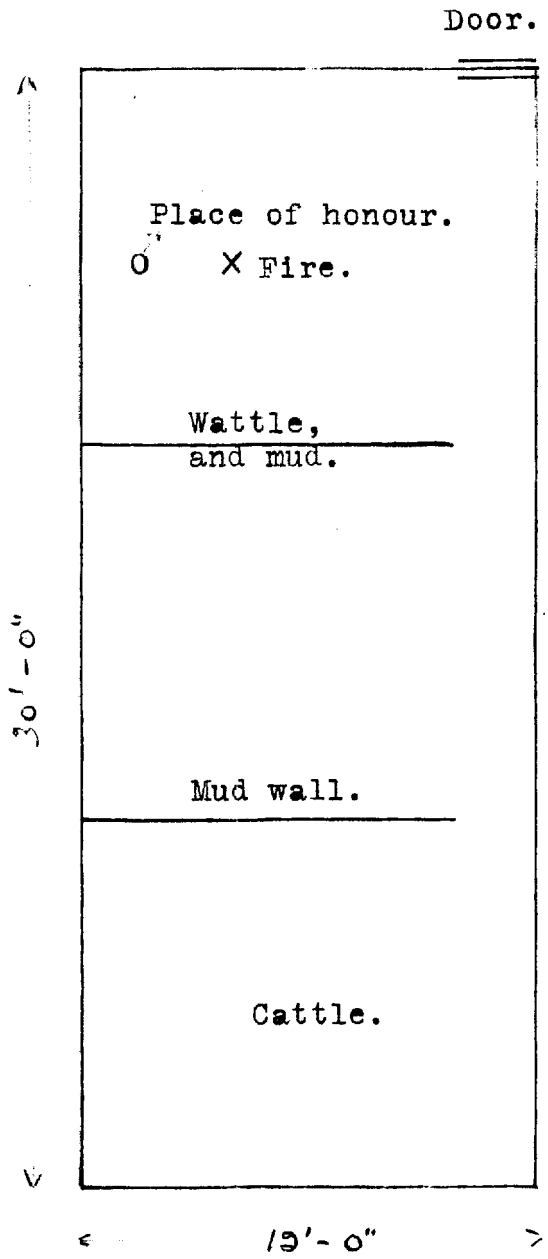
CHAPTER II

CHAPTER II

Social Organization

The Hua Miao, who all speak one language, live in smaller or larger village communities scattered over the hills. Each such community is independent and autonomous, regulating its own affairs and leading its own life. Friendly relations exist between the villages and there is very little quarrelling The villagers constantly visit their friends to join them in feasting and dancing but they usually keep to their own part of the country and don't care to travel long distances. Villages are permanent and may be composed of anything from five to fifty or more huts which sprawl over the ground without any preconceived plan. There is a village headman, appointed by their landlord and often hereditary, and there is co-ordination within the village for shepherding the cattle, for keeping watch in times of unrest, and for hunting. Within the village there is a definite communal consciousness. Grazing land but not cultivated land is held in common; there are no hunting or fishing rights. The occupants of the village I investigated were all related by blood or marriage but this is by no means always the case. Though there is no scheme for village planning, a hut (house) is always ~~erected~~ along and is built so that the

door enters into either of the ends of the hut and not into either of the sides. Each householder, assisted by friends, builds his own house which in the case of the more well-to-do, frequently follows the plan drawn here.



Wherever the fire is, th
upper side of the fire
is the place of honour.

The majority of the people have two rooms only, one for the cattle, the other for the living room, and not infrequently one would regard the habitation as a hovel rather than a hut. The walls are of mud beaten down between two movable boards. There are no windows though small openings in the walls serve to let in light and air. The roof slopes and is well thatched with grass. The ground which is prepared by beating forms the floor. There is an upper storey made by laying intertwined bamboos or thin tree branches over joists and approached by a ladder. Food is stored in this upper storey. The fire-place is on the ground as indicated in the sketch and the smoke escapes through the thatch. I think this type of house with the exception of the orientation of the door was copied from the Chinese. Formerly Hua Miao huts were not so permanent and were constructed of wattle and mud. The furniture is of the simples kind consisting of stools, a table, a bed-stead, shelves, a cupboard, a tension-loom, hunting gear, cooking utensils, baskets for grain and agricultural implements; some of these will be described later. All are movable and are the private property of each householder. Each family has a house which while it cannot be described as being kept clean may be described as being moderately neat. The land around which houses are groupe is dirty and insanitary the refuse from each household being thrown anywhere. The scavenger habits of dogs and pigs help to keep the village clean and the Miao in their natural functions are modest and careful.

The situation chosen for a village may be on the slope of a hill or on a small plateau on the side of a hill. What is desired is access to some water supply (stream or spring); proximity to grazing ground; the availability of firewood or coal; and if possible natural shelter from cold winds. It is uncommon to see a stockaded village.

The tribe is made up of twelve clans (American authors would use "gens") all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common surname. The surnames are:

Hmao Ch'ih ("Hmao" means "Miao"; for purposes of intercourse with Chinese "Hmao Ch'ih" is used as the equivalent of the Chinese surname "Yang" though it has not the same meaning).

Hmao Nglêh-vao (equivalent to the Chinese surname "Chang"; "vao" means "Chinese").

Hmao Nglêh-mang (equivalent to the Chinese surname "An"; "mang" means "Pien", i.e. Lo-lo or Nosu).

Hmao Giai-ngia (used for the Chinese surname "Li").

Hmao Giai-lieh (the Chinese surname "Loh").

Hmao Glu-nba (the Chinese surname "Wu"; "nba" means "pig").

Hmao Glu-gli (the Chinese surname "T'ao"; "gli" means "dog").

Hmao Glah-ggao-ndao (the Chinese surname "Chu"; "ggao-ndao" means "behind the tree" and will be understood after reading the section on "Magical and Religious Beliefs and Practices").

Hmao Glah-ggang-ndao (the Chinese surname "P'an"; "ggang-ndao" means "in front of the tree").

Hmao Dang-cho (the Chinese surname "Wang"; "cho" means "tiger")

Hmao Dang-zang (the Chinese surname "Wang" but a different tone from the former; "zang" means dragon).

Hmao Zang (the Chinese surname "Ma").

Hmao Yoe-ge-ja (the Chinese surname "Han"; "ge-ja" is the bird known as the "red-billed-jay").

The people themselves state there are twelve surnames but above I have recorded thirteen. Those of the same surname never intermarry however distant the relationship may be. I have not been able to ascertain with any certainty the meanings of these surnames. The Hmao Nglêh-vao are said to be so called because formerly they served the Chinese; the Hmao Nglêh-yang because they served the Ipien. "Giai" means "hamper, basket", and the Hmao Giai clans are said to be so called because they used to carry baskets. "Lu Dang" means "a large iron pan" and the Hmao Dang clans are said to be so called because they were accustomed to bake cakes in large iron pans. I record these explanations but I don't know what value to attach to them.

The tribe, which is a loose aggregate of these twelve (?) clans, exercises no tribal authority, but a common language and like ceremonial, marital, burial and other customs assist in regulating the social life of the people.

The village community is divided into families, a family consisting of a man and his wife and their married and unmarried children. It is seldom that more than two married sons live with their parents. Usually, with the exception of the youngest son, a few years after they marry sons erect their own houses and

set up their own establishments. Sometimes brothers build their houses adjoining one another in such a way that they become almost one house of which each family retains its own special portion. The family is patrilineal and somewhat resembles our own, the difference being that ties to relatives outside the immediate family group obtrude into family life. The husband is expected to protect the wife and furnish food for her and the children. The wife and children owe obedience to the head of the family who is usually the father, though if the grandfather be still living, authority is invested in him. Both father and mother are kind to their children and are desirous of having as many as possible. Women are well treated and have very much more freedom than Chinese women. In famine years economic necessity may compel parents to sell their children for food, and at such times it is not an unknown occurrence for a man and wife to separate, each fending for himself and herself. An older brother has a measure of control over sisters who become subject to him at the death of the father. After the death of the father, the mother comes largely under the control of the father's brothers, and if she is still young they will dispose of her in marriage. If both are agreeable she may be married to her husband's younger brother but under no circumstances to her husband's elder brother. The care of the children devolves upon the nearest of kin.

In everyday social intercourse man and wife eat together but should guests be present the men eat first and the women later. If an elder brother comes to the home of his younger brother, the latter and his children will eat with the elder brother but not the younger brother's wife who eats apart. When I asked the reason for this I was told that they distinguish between a big and a little. Amongst the Hua Miao the general attitude of relatives towards one another is of considerable interest. When a bride goes to the home of her husband she is not allowed to walk over what is considered to be the upper part of the house (see sketch p. 9), nor so long as her father-in-law is living is she permitted to walk around the household fire. She may not sit on his stool (nor may he sit on hers) and it is not permissible for her to go near to his bed nor to take food with him. Were she to do any of these things, it is believed that a snake would coil around her feet. If the father-in-law is within the house and not the mother-in-law a young wife will not readily enter her home. If perchance she did so, she would not on any account address a remark to him. A woman will never use the food basin or spoon belonging to either her father-in-law or to an older brother-in-law; she rigorously avoids older brothers-in-law but not younger brothers-in-law with whom she is very free. When young, brothers and sisters (i.e. children of the same parents) will play and romp

together but as soon as they are grown they will never go about together. When a girl reaches the age of eight or nine she won't under any circumstances sleep in the same room as her brother.

A girl's or woman's skirt is never hung up to dry on a clothes' line or on anything high as to do this would injure the eyes of men. Skirts are dried by being spread upon the ground. A grown girl or woman may not mount to the upper storey if a man is sitting underneath. A man is free at any time to go to the upper storey.

Should a snake pass near the feet of a young married woman she is filled with terror. She will probably consult a sorcerer (ah-goe-nêh) who will tell her that she has been lax about sitting on her father-in-law's stool or approaching his bed and that unless she is more careful a snake will entwine itself around her throat.

The following list of terms obtained from genealogies indicates the system of relationship:

Vã̄	Father.
Vã̄-ah-hlo (Big father)	Father's elder brother, Mother's elder sister's husband, Husband's elder brother, Wife's elder sister's husband.
Vã̄-ah-dchĭh (Little father)	Father's younger brother, Mother's younger sister's husband,
Nieh	Mother.

Nieh-ah-hlo (Big mother)	Father's elder brother's wife, Mother's elder sister, Wife's elder sister, Elder brother's wife (w.s.)
Nieh-ah-dchĭh (Little mother)	Father's younger brother's wife, Mother's younger sister, Wife's younger sister.
Nieh-lao	Wife's elder sister (m.s.), A daughter of mother's brother who is older than m.s., A daughter of father's sister who is older than m.s.
Nieh-hlah	Wife's younger sister (m.s.), (lah-hlah has the same meaning), A daughter of mother's brother who is younger than m.s., A daughter of father's sister who is younge than m.s.
Dzah-du	Son, Elder brother's son, Younger " " Husband's brother's son, Sister's son, Wife's sister's son.
Lah-nts'ai	Daughter, Elder brother's daughter, Younger " " Husband's brother's daughter, Sister's daughter, Wife's sister's daughter.
Ah-mao	Elder brother (m.s.); if the speaker is married he calls his elder brother vā-ah-hl to teach the children what they should call him. Mother's sister's son, if older.
Dzah-chŭ	Younger brother (m.s.); if the speaker is married he calls his younger brother vā-ah-dchĭh to teach the children what they should call him. Younger brother (w.s.b.m.); Mother's sister's son, if younger.

Ah-nu	Elder brother (w.s.)
	Younger brother (w.s.a.m.); dzah-nu may also be used.
Dzah-nu	Wife's elder or younger brothers (m.s.); ah-nu may also be used.
Ah-zi	Elder sister (m.s., w.s.); Husband's elder brother's wife (w.s.).
Lah-chü	Younger sister (m.s., w.s., b.m.).
Lah-mah	Younger sister (m.s.a.m.); Mother's sister's daughters, older and younger Husband's sisters, older and younger; Lah-mah is a more affectionate term than Lah-chü.
Lah-hlah	Younger sister (w.s.a.m.); Father's sister's daughter (m.s., child younger); Mother's brother's daughter (m.s., child younger); Younger brother's wife (m.s., w.s.); Husband's younger brother's wife; Wife's younger sister (m.s.).
Ah-i or Dzah-i	Father's younger brother (b.m.); the mother calls him ah-i and that is why he is called ah-i before marriage; Husband's younger brother (w.s.); Younger brother, a.m., (m.s.); Wife's younger sister's husband.
Ah-dai	Father's sister, either younger or older, (m.s Mother's brother's wife, younger or older. Son's wife's mother, i.e. Mother-in-law.
Dzah-vao or Ah-vao	Wife's brother's son (m.s.,w.s.) Sister's son (m.s.); Husband's sister's son; Daughter's husband; Sister's husband.
Lah-niang	Wife's brother's daughter (m.s.,w.s.); Sister's daughter (m.s.); Husband's sister's daughter; Son's wife.

Ah-yoe	Father's sister's husband; Mother's brothers, older and younger; Son's wife's father; Husband's father, i.e. Father-in-law.
Ah-yoe-lao	Grandfather.
Ah-yoe-ah-p'ü	Ancestors.
Dzah-nboe or Ah-nboe	Father's sister's sons (m.s.); Mother's brother's sons (m.s.); Wife's brother (m.s.b.m.).
Ah-niang	Father's sister's daughter (m.s. to one older than himself); Mother's brother's daughter (m.s. to one older than himself); Elder brother's wife (m.s.).
Dzah-ge	Son's son. Daughter's son.
Lah-ge	Son's daughter; Daughter's daughter.
Dzah-tzu-hlah	Wife's younger sister's husband (m.s.).
Ah-doh'ah	Husband's elder brother (w.s.); Wife's elder sister's husband.
Ah-bo	Father's sister; Husband's mother.
Tzu-lao	Elder sister's husband (w.s.); ah-doh'ah is also used.
Tzu-hlah	Younger sister's husband (w.s.); dzah-i is also used.
Ah-mah	Husband's elder sister (w.s.); Husband's younger sister (w.s.).

m.s. - man speaking;
w.s. - woman speaking;
b.m. - before marriage;
a.m. - after marriage;

It will be seen that once there was the widely distributed custom of cross-cousin marriage, it being the correct thing for a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother. This practice is not strictly observed now. In every day life relationship terms are used rather than personal names. A Hua Miao's "own" sons and daughters occupy quite a different position from nephews and nieces, although the former are designated by the same word as the latter. There are not many special duties between relatives, but where I have met with them I have recorded them.

Hua Miao salute one another with great cordiality men greeting men, and women, women, by rubbing one another's left shoulder and asking "Dieh zao nioh gioh"... Are you well ? An adult person greets children by rubbing or patting his (or her) head. The form of farewell is, (the host), "Go slowly, go slowly"; (the parting guest), "Sit slowly, sit slowly." This is similar to the Chinese farewell.

They are singularly hospitable and guests who are being entertained are expected to eat to satiation. People will go short themselves so that recognized guests be generously treated. If the guest be of some importance a goat or sheep is slain and boiled and when the guest leaves a leg of the animal is always given to him. It would be considered a breach of good manners not to do this, as also it would be to refuse food to even a casual visitor.

Custom, tradition and public opinion, which is very potent, constitute the authority of the people. "This is what our fathers told us" is the justification for many of the tenets of the Hua Miao. The opinion of the community sometimes brings about the death of a man and it may serve to bring the guilty to justice. Age plays an important part, seniority and authority tallying with maturity. The father and the father's brothers are treated in much the same way; deference is paid to both and both exercise control. Kinsmen of a man and his clansmen share a joint responsibility for his actions.

The Hua Miao are not difficult to govern. The headman is invested with authority by the landlord and upon this headman lies the duty of seeing that the desires of the villagers are carried out, and that the proclamations (dealing with taxes, levies, etc.) of the Chinese mandarins are observed. I have met with only one case of homicide; never with incest, unnatural vice nor breach of the laws of exogamy. Witchcraft and black magic flourish, there is remarkably little thieving and slander; all are dealt with by the elders whose words are listened to with great respect. Disputes, nearly all of which arise on account of their land or their women, are settled by agreement through the elders; if any party refuses to accept the decision of the elders, an appeal is made to the landlord. Where fines are imposed they are paid to the aggrieved party and take the form of cattle. Sometimes discussions about land

and unsatisfactory marriages last for days. Decisions are not always just as the influence of some men is stronger than that of others, and even elders cannot ignore the power of a man whose clansmen are numerous.

The homicide I met with was tragic. It occurred in a famine year. Food was scarce. A young and old man were seeking roots by the side of a cliff. A dispute arose about some roots which the old man claimed to have discovered first. In the altercation the younger man pushed his antagonist over the cliff and the old man was killed. Later the body was found and the culprit traced. The village elders gave the accused a large knife and told him they didn't wish to see him again. On the morrow the young man was found dead, hanging on a tree.

In their dress a distinguishing mark of these people is the gay-coloured kilt of their women. This garment reaches down to the knee and is pleated round the waist. Though the women never wear trousers they are careful and modest in the way they adjust their kilts (or skirts) and the people's attitude towards clothes generally seems to be much as our Western attitude. To be seen without clothes would be a shameful thing. A kind of white jacket is worn by both sexes and the men wear short, white, trousers. All their clothes are homespun. On festive occasions both men and women wear parti-coloured gowns with beautifully embroidered sleeves, hence the name of the tribe, Flowery Miao. These gowns are freely

borrowed and lent amongst friends. Women wear no head-dress and usually the men do not, though for fetes the young men wear turbans made of a whole length of white cloth which is singularly heavy. Children are clad in the same manner as elders though their apparel is less carefully made. In cold weather felt capes are worn the closed side being turned in the direction from which a cold wind blows. When on a journey, or away from home attending some festival, these capes are used to sleep in. Even at home amongst the poorer people the cape is the only covering used when sleeping. Those who can afford it however possess felt rugs between which they rest, one serving as a mattress, a second as a blanket. Such capes and rugs are not made by the Hua Miao; they are manufactured by an aboriginal tribe known as the Ko. Grass sandals are worn by all, both boys and girls learning at an early age how to make them, and they continue to make their own throughout life. Everyone knows what particular kind of grass makes the best sandals.

Up to the age of thirty-five to forty both sexes, the women more than the men, ornament their ears with copper rings bought from the Chinese. The ear-rings are worn pendant from one or both ears and are suspended by means of a hook passing through the lobe of the ear, the hole being made by piercing the lobe with a large thorn. Hua Miao ear ornaments are decidedly inextravagant either in size or workmanship or fineness of material. Young women also wear cheap brass finger rings purchased from Chinese pedlars.

The hair of girls is plaited into two long plaits; after marriage, as soon as they become mothers, they twist the hair into a poke; and a proud day it is when they can do this ! Both married and unmarried women use wooden combs (bought from the Chinese) and fixed in the poke a porcupine quill may often be seen. Up to the time of the Chinese 1911-1912 revolution the men also wore their hair in two plaits but now this practice has been largely discarded and the hair has not been allowed to grow long. I will give further particulars about the hair in a later section.

The daily food is maize or buckwheat and vegetables with meat not more frequently than once a month and unless obtained in the chase less than this. They can usually afford to have pounded rock-salt with their meals,but during the weeks before the harvest is ripe even this may become a luxury. I have known salt so scarce that when it has been purchased people have licked it much as a Western child licks a barley sugar stick. Cold water fetched from a stream or spring is the daily drink.

Being neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers, the majority of the Hua Miao are miserably poor and with many of them the struggle for existence is unceasing. For money they use whatever is in currency amongst the Chinese.

Opium smoking is practically non-existent but drink causes considerable poverty and degradation. The drinking of spirits,

the distilling of which they state they learnt from the Chinese but which they can now make for themselves, is a prevalent vice. Festivals, marriages and sacrifices are all occasions for the reckless consumption of spirits when both men and women seem to glory in their shame and not infrequently may be seen helplessly drunk. Some of their drinking bouts go on for three days and nights and the sounds of drunken revelry may be heard all over the village.

The fifth day of the fifth moon (the Dragon Boat Festival of the Chinese when offerings are made with the object of procuring sufficient rain) is annually celebrated with music and dancing. It is said that this festival used to be held at the commencement of spring. These fetes are attended by people from all over the countryside and are occasions for social intercourse among both old and young. Babies born during the year are taken to these festivals and carried about on the backs of either fathers or mothers. Crowds of girls are to be seen wearing their pretty skirts and embroidered gowns and there are just as many young men in their splendour.

At these gatherings a musical instrument called ggêh (in Chinese "luh-seng," Pipes of Pan,) is played by the young men who are popular and admired according to their ability to blow it. A ggêh is made of bamboo pipes, from four to six being let into a piece of hollowed wood the handle of which forms the mouth-piece. The sound, which is something like that of bag-pipes, is

produced by brass reeds fixed into the tubes which are of different sizes varying from two to four feet in length. Tunes played on these instruments seem to the Westerner weird and monotonous but they play a subtle part in the sex life of the young people. When on moonlight nights pipers come to the outskirts of a village the music is irresistible to the girls who go out to the players and spend the night with them.

I have never been to one of these fetes and so cannot describe them in detail. I am told that the pipers exert themselves so much that their cheeks are swollen and perspiration streams down their faces. The dancing, which is done very seriously and without laughing, is what we would call posturing and keenly interests the hundreds of spectators. The women never dance, but men dance dressed in women's clothes with the hair done up like women. At sunset the older people return home but the younger folk pass the night together dispersing at daybreak.

Formal dancing and pipe playing are also enjoyed when entertaining guests at the New Year; (though now the Hua Miao celebrate the New Year at the same time as the Chinese I am informed they used to celebrate it in the eleventh moon); at weddings; and when the Big-Spirit-Sacrifice (to be described later) is offered. On these occasions songs are sung for the pleasure and entertainment of the company and to these songs young women antiphonally respond.

If a youth comes to a home in the hamlet, after the evening meal the young women of the hamlet foregather in the house where the guest is being entertained, and, following a little discussion, one of their group is selected to sing for them. To her singing the guest sings in response and if between them, with brief periods of rest for conversation, they can keep up this antiphonal singing until daylight, the guest is greatly admired. Or the girls may invite the youth to visit the village "flowery-house", where after singing he may sleep with the girl of his selection. If the youth should refuse to sing, the girls throw cold water over him and go off in disgust. The singers most honoured are those who at mid-night can sing mid-night songs; in the third watch, third watch songs; and at day-break, day-break songs. On the hills and in the fields young people of all ages love to sing their "hill-songs" and some of them are very gifted singers.

As I have already pointed out the Hua Miao are now agriculturists. ~~They~~ with the aid of the plough they produce their crops of maize, buckwheat, barley, oats, wheat, and rye; ~~with the aid of the plough;~~ and with the hoe and mattock small patches of cereals and vegetables (white cabbage, turnips, carrots) ~~are tilled with the hoe and mattock~~. Both sexes do agricultural work, far the greater part of their time and energy being occupied in this way. Maize is the staple crop but potatoes are also largely cultivated and in some centres form the chief article of food. There are occasional villages where walnut, plum and pear trees

supply a fruit harvest but these not being scientifically cultivated the yield is not considerable.

The Hmao Ch'ïh clan have a special custom. When the wheat is ripe the father of a family must cut the first sheaf. Before he cuts it however a small red-headed bird (the Hmao-ch'ïh-hi-ngiang-mo) is caught, cooked and eaten. Tradition says that long ago, a hair from a beard of wheat stuck in the throat of one of their ancestors. Some one catching a hmao-ch'ïh-hi-ngiang-mo roasted it and on eating it the hair was dislodged. If this bird cannot be secured, a similar bird may be caught and used as a substitute.

When the maize or buckwheat, or other cereals are in flower a girl or woman in menstruation will not step over them; they will walk around the land on which these cereals are growing, never over it. They are most particular about this.

Each family in a village cultivates a smaller or larger piece of land held in fief of Ipien landlords (sometimes called t'u-muh, i.e. earth's eyes) to whom a heavy rent is paid, and who in many instances have serf rights over their tenants. The same piece of land continues in the occupation of the same cultivators. When a son marries and leaves the father's home, a portion of the family land is handed over to him. Few landmarks exist but every family knows to whom any land belongs.

The cuckoo calls when it is time to sow the maize and children are taught that this bird is not to be injured.

All instruments used for agriculture are purchased from the Chinese.

To provide manure for the land, wool for their clothes, and money for incidental expenses every Hua Miao family keeps one or more cows, several sheep and goats, pigs and occasionally a horse. Their wealth is measured by the number of cattle possessed. The grazing grounds are not far from the fixed habitations of the people.

Some of the Miao are keen hunters who enjoy the chase during winter months when there are but few agricultural duties. They use spears, crossbows, and sometimes arrows dipped in a poison manufactured from deadly nightshade. I have watched them track game with a skill that has filled me with wonder, and some of them can knife the wild boar with consummate dexterity. When they wound an animal with a poisoned arrow, they allow it to get away, and later go after it. They generally find it dead. If it is a deer, mountain-sheep, wild boar or any edible animal, the flesh surrounding the place where the arrow has entered is cut away and the rest goes into the cooking pot.

For the most part they hunt deer and mountain-sheep by running them down or by shooting them with unpoisoned arrows. Only the men hunt and before starting out there must be no bickering and quarrelling between husband and wife; indeed the whole village should be on amicable terms, and men must watch their mouths carefully, otherwise the quarry will not be

captured. Lest the women-folk should say anything unwise they are not informed that the men are going out to hunt. The hunters simply say they are going out to gather firewood. If a woman were to say she thought the men wouldn't catch anything, they wouldn't catch anything. Were a woman to say she feared the wild boar might gore them, the wild boar would gore them.

Usually a large party is organized and all proceedings directed by a chief (shu-sêh) selected for the occasion by the village priest (ah-yoe-dzu-mu); and it is arranged quietly lest the hills should hear. Since the hills rule over all animals, were they to hear, not only would the hunters not capture anything, but the animals would become particularly ferocious. Before starting out ~~a selected fowl's egg is shot~~ an arrow is discharged at a boiled egg which is divided amongst the hunters. If the archer misses his aim the hunt may be deferred. Dogs are used for hunting, some of them being very keen. After the party leaves the village, it is customary for the shu-sêh to cut a long branch from a bramble bush and under this hunters and dogs pass thereby insuring themselves against all danger.

The spoils are divided equally with the exception of the shu-sêh and the man who caught or killed the quarry; between these two men the neck of any animal captured is divided, it being considered to be the choicest part. Were the quarry not so divided the next hunt would end in failure. A Hua Miao, Wang Shu, once told me that he and a friend went after a deer

but became so exhausted that they gave up the chase. Two other men, promising they would all share, asked them to point out the whereabouts of the hunted animal, but when these men shot the deer they divided none of the spoil with Wang Shu and his friend, since when nothing whatever has been caught in that neighbourhood.

Before taking a victim back to the village, any of the hunters, who are in the habit of setting traps, offer a sacrifice to the hill by roasting a small portion of meat in a fire on the hill-side and then eating it. This propitiates the hill.

Imitation of an animal's call is used to call them within sight. Mechanical devices are not used to any great extent. The pitfall is occasionally employed; some hunters set a cross-bow trap, made by attaching a long string to the cross-bow. An animal by coming into contact with the string may release a poisoned arrow and shoot itself. It is not however an effective trap as wild animals usually step over the string.

When the hunt has been successful great excitement prevails among the villagers as it means meat for the family pot, and many eulogiums are bestowed on those to whose skill they owe the feast.

Each village may hunt over all the neighbouring country.

Amongst the Hua Miao a cross-bow is semi-sacrosanct, women never being allowed to step over it and a man will not do so intentionally.

CHAPTER III

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The Daily Round and the Cycle of Life

With the first streak of dawn the housewife, orderly and regular in her habits, gets up and soon she is calling "Sang-ndu, sang-ndu" (daylight, daylight) to her children who may be sleeping on the floor around the hut fire, in grass in the loft, or in an out-house, and shortly they respond to her summons. Within a few minutes the husband is also astir shuffling over to the fire where bending or kneeling down he blows the smouldering embers until they glow and then blaze. As all have been sleeping in their work-a-day clothes dressing is quickly accomplished; girdles, loosed on retiring, are adjusted, and discarded sandals fastened. Ablutions are unnecessary since it isn't a gala or a festival day. A little dry firewood is added to the fire and all gather round to warm themselves. Presently it is time to take out the cattle to graze. The pen door (if so primitive a contrivance can be named a door) is opened and cows, sheep, goats and pigs jostle through the living room to join other cattle of the hamlet and all meander out of the village led and driven by dogs, children and one or two men and women whose work it is to shepherd them till the time for the morning meal, when they will drive them

home again. There are wild beasts on the hills, wolves, foxes, leopards, wild boars and an occasional tiger, so a man must accompany the cattle.

After smoking a pipe of tobacco the husband with a mattock, or if there is ploughing to be done his plough and cow, goes off to his land where he commences to delve. With a wooden bucket on her back the housewife quietly slips away to the little stream, probably she has to walk from five to ten minutes, and with a large ladle fills her bucket. Other women are filling theirs so salutations and gossip are exchanged and then dexterously balancing the vessel on her back she trudges home. There is corn to grind and this being woman's work she quickly takes a measure of maize from a basket bin and soon the dull murmur of the running handmill is heard, a comfortable voice of food in a Miao home. Fowls have heard the low, subdued sound and quickly around the busy housewife a dozen hens and cocks are scratching and fighting for any husks that may fall to the ground though it is little of these they get as the pigs will need them. As soon as the grinding is completed a dog licks clean the millstone while the meal is being heaped into a round wooden steamer which has been placed in water heating in a large iron pan set on the fire. Into this water a cabbage or broad beans are thrown to boil and cook while the maize-meal is steamed. When it is cooked, pan and steamer

are set on one side and their place is taken by an earthenware vessel filled with husks and green leaves gathered yesterday from the hills.

The time for the morning meal (nao ch'ai) is now approaching and the cattle have returned. These, with the exception of the pigs, are fastened in their pen; the pigs are grunting round rudely hewn troughs waiting for the mixture of greens, husks and water, which presently is poured out for them to gorge. The father has returned so now the family can settle and enjoy their breakfast. The father sits while the mother and children may or may not have stools. The woman fills her husband's basin with the cooked maize meal and everybody else helps him or herself from the steamer. If there is a low table, and there usually is one of some kind, though owing to the uneven floor it is a work of art and patience to balance it, the beans or cabbage are set on it in a large earthenware or wooden bowl and from this each one takes with chopsticks or spoons (wooden) whatever he (or she) chooses. There is a second basin in which are placed hot water, a piece of rock salt and a generous sprinkling of capsicum. Into this each member dips the beans or vegetables. Those who keep the old customs use spoons, not chopsticks, and sit on the ground without mat or table, unwilling to fall into the habits of the Chinese. Everybody chats and laughs freely. The children relate any adventures they have

met with on the hills; the father wishes to know if the cattle are all well; and the housewife idly talks about the people she met at the stream. Pigs are grubbing over the floor, hens are pecking about, and dogs are wondering whether any food may be dropped. After the meal is over the steamer is covered and put on one side, spoons, chop-sticks and basins are, neatly washed heaped on a shelf, the fire is allowed to die low, and everyone prepares for the day's work. Once more the children drive the cattle and sheep out to pasture on the hill-sides, the father goes off to his land and the woman sets out to gather firewood; this is not specifically her work, men as well as women gather fuel. On the hills with one eye on the cattle the boys amuse themselves by chasing birds, while the girls standing or squatting round a fire made of gathered branches busy themselves with a distaff spinning yarn for weaving. Whenever ~~they~~ girls have a moment to spare they prepare yarn as when puberty comes they will need pretty clothes to attract the boys. All have taken buckwheat cakes (ba-ba) with them so that when they are hungry they might heat them in the improvised fire and nao shu (lunch). The husband too has taken his ba-ba as he is anxious to prepare as much land as possible and doesn't want to come home for a mid-day meal. By the time the housewife returns the village may be quite deserted, save perhaps for one or two old men and women, and a few of the children; she is free either to do some

weaving or to go to the family land and assist her man. She decides on the former and as the sun is shining brightly she opens wide the door and sitting at her hand-loom she vigorously shoots her shuttle and beats up each pick with a sword. A woman's work is never done. It is hers to make the clothes, to carry water and to cook the food (i.e. the family cooking, but not the common cooking for festivals etc., which is entirely done by men). But today she is content and happy. Her eldest son is growing up and next year he will bring home a bride who will help with the water-carrying, weaving, sowing and reaping; all will be well then. Time passes quickly, the sun is drawing towards the west. Putting away her loom the woman takes a basket and small sickle and goes to nearby fields and hedges to gather greens for the pigs which will need a good feed at dusk. The basket filled, she hurries home and repeats the duties of the morning in preparing food. Everybody will be hungrier tonight so more meal and more vegetables will be needed.

The sun is westering; a stillness settles on the hills; presently it is broken by the tinkling of cow bells and the joyous shouts of children driving home the cattle which find their way into their pen as easily as humans. The pigs are fed and fastened in for the night; capes are hung up on the walls and shepherd crooks stacked in a corner. The door is closed, the fire blazes, hot maize meal and boiling cabbage and cabbage

water are ready, and standing, sitting or squatting all gather round to enjoy a well-earned evening meal (nao hmo), the chief meal of the day. It is quite dark now, indeed it has been dark for some time as they have lingered over their meal and yarned around the fire. Going off to their resting places the children wrap themselves in their capes (made of felt) and soon are sleeping soundly. The father fastens the door, sits down and smokes his pipe; the housewife takes up yarn that she wishes to prepare for tomorrow but she is very tired; squatting near the fire her head nods, the eyes are heavy, sweet sleep comes and folds her gently in her arms. It has been only a few minutes, perhaps a quarter of an hour, better go to bed. By eight or half past the whole household has retired to rest and nothing is to be heard but the breathing of the sleepers and an occasional murmur amongst the cattle.

In the "Cycle of life" I propose to describe customs pertaining to birth, names, marriage, death and the disposal of the dead as these are all crises in the life of a community. They are phenomena of mystery, fraught with dangers of various complexion. They test the mettle of every native, are a strain upon the nerves, and resource is had to social measures as well as to the realm of unseen powers.

Birth: In common with other Eastern people the Hua Miao intensely desire children, and childless women are despised. Such women eat a mountain herb to ensure their having a child, and in many cases it is effective. A native doctor whom I know well has cured many women who have come to him from two, three and even four days' journey away. Once I heard of a childless wife being sent away by her husband to consort with another man until she should find herself with child; an expedient not unknown amongst the Chinese.

During pregnancy a woman does not observe any rules as to diet and behaviour. Usually accouchement is in seclusion, the mother is not assisted. If the family is in the house she is placed apart where kneeling on a straw-made, hanock-like seat she effects her delivery and severs the umbilical cord with a knife. After the birth she is secluded and regarded as unclean. Seclusion is for two or three days only, as there is too much work to be done on the farm to allow of her resting longer; but for a month she eats her food apart from the other members of the family. I have known many instances where a woman has given birth to a babe one day and on the following day has attended to her work in the fields. Throughout this month of restrictions however, some other person cooks the food and carries the water. Her food, which at this time is qualitatively a little better than usual, is placed in a separate pan from that used

by the family, and her basin and spoon are inviolable. They may neither be used nor touched by any other person. During her days of restrictions it would be a crime for her to go into any neighbour's house; should she go to the house of a friend to borrow anything, she must stand at the door. Under no circumstances is she to cross the threshold. At this time, too, a strict diet is observed and no pickles, fruit or anything sour is eaten. When the month is completed, the mother washes her clothes and all the vessels she has used, after which her disablement is at an end and she is permitted once more to be a normal member of society. It is very much feared that any infraction of these ceremonies would result in the transgressor being struck by lightning. During her month of restrictions women neighbours come with congratulations and presents of fresh eggs.

There is little distinction made between the coming of boys and girls. Though boys are more desired than girls, both are very welcome. In this matter the Hua Miao are different from the Chinese who attach great importance to sons.

If twins be born, though happily this is rare, the mother is frightened. Should one of them die, a rough dummy of the dead child is fashioned and a pretence made that the child is still living, as it is believed that, though there are two persons, there is only one life. When the twins marry, whether

the twins be two boys, two girls, or a boy and a girl, it is indispensable that both marry on the same day. If two fruits be on one stalk (say two potatoes or two maize-cobs) girls and young women will avoid them; it might cause them to give birth to twins.

The fortunes of a babe for good or evil are bound up with the after-birth and umbilical cord; if these are properly treated the child will be prosperous, if they be injured the babe will suffer; if they be thrown away the child will die. In the case of a boy the afterbirth and cord are buried at the base of the central pillar of the house; while in the case of a girl they are buried under any one of the side pillars. ~~When~~ while the babe is very young, the water in which he is washed is emptied over the place where the afterbirth and cord are buried. If, when the child is older, the umbilicus is sore, it is carefully bathed and the water emptied over where the afterbirth is buried. When a child dies, the ah-yoe-nêh frequently divines that it is because the afterbirth and umbilical cord have not been properly treated.

Names: There is not a great deal of ceremony attaching to the naming of an infant. The mother's parents give the name to the first child. To girls the name of some grain flower may be given as, "Little wheat flower", "Little barley flower", "Little rice flower", "Little buckwheat flower", "Little oat flower",

or they may simply be called, "Sweet one", "Pretty one", "Little one", Occasionally to boys the names of trees are given though I have not met with such cases; usually they are given some such name as "The-guest-has-come" or "The boy-of-good-features-has-come", or they are simply called "Old-number-one", "Old-number-two", "Old-number-three"; this method is the most common. If a man bearing the clan name of say Hmao Nglêh finds it difficult to bring up sons he sometimes pretends that his son's surname is say Hmao Glu or Hmao Glah or any surname different from his own.

If a woman dies in labour it frequently happens that the new born babe is interred with the mother.

When the mother wishes to take the child out of doors for the first time, she snips off a little of the baby's hair and places it in one of the side walls of the house. This prevents the little one from catching cold, and ensures that the child will not be afraid of thunder. A woman who has had difficulty in rearing children consults an ah-yoe-nêh about the first hair-cutting ceremony, and he always insists that the maternal uncle must officiate. Under these circumstances the hair is not cut until the child is three years old. The procedure is for the maternal uncle to buy the razor and to present the child with a cap, a loose blouse, a pair of trousers and a pair of shoes. Two pigs are slaughtered, one for the child whose

head is being shaved (it is generally only for boys that so great an expense is incurred), the second for the uncle's reception, and later he is presented with half of this victim. Before commencing to shave the head, the uncle places a cord, which he himself has made of wool and hemp, around the child's neck saying, "Ndze-ki-niao, (cf. p. 51) with a chain of iron cannot bind you. I bind you with this cord of wool. May you live a thousand years and may your hair grow whiter and whiter!"

Children are suckled as long as there is any milk. I have known little ones six years old seek milk at their mother's breast.

A strange dread attaches to all milk it being commonly believed that, should a drop of milk accidentally come into contact with food given to cattle, the cattle will be killed by lightning. Men won't drink milk for the same reason; women are not so fearful.

The critical time of birth is over. It has been a crisis in the life of the new-born child and in the lives of the young parents. It was dangerous, mysterious, uncanny, and had to be treated accordingly. Now one must see to it that the new arrival is properly introduced to the world of things and of men in which he is to live a life patterned after the members of his tribe. To fit him for his proper place in the community he has to be educated. All necessary knowledge he acquires

gradually by imitation of his elders, in which he is directed and encouraged by them. The education of both boys and girls (hunting, agriculture, weaving, embroidery, singing and dancing) is gained by copying parents and elders. There is exhortation, example, warning, seldom punishment. When puberty comes, marriage, another of the crises of life, must be celebrated with appropriate rites. It is as natural to the sexes as birth, and as it establishes new relations within the tribe it is important that regulations be observed. It is a social affair, the concern of the parents, the clan, the tribe as well as that of the groom and bride.

Pre-marital Relations: In most villages there is a "flowery-house", built by the girls, in which youths and girls have pre-marital sex-relations. It is not large consisting of one room only, and young people have no sense of shame even when several couples share it together. Until she has reached puberty, no girl is allowed to sleep in this "flowery-house". From that age they may visit it, though usually a girl is 15 or 16 before she goes to it regularly; after this she frequents it until she becomes a mother. If, after a girl has given birth to a child, she continues to visit the flowery-house, she is condemned by the community; as also is the man, though less so, after he has become a father. Public opinion does not severely censure her for frequenting the house during the

period after marriage and before becoming a mother. Up to this time sexual relationships are quite promiscuous and a woman never knows who really is the father of her first child, and no harm is thought of such freedom; sometimes it is encouraged by authority. Offspring of these unions are not frequent but if children are born full social status is accorded them. No means are taken to prevent conception or to produce miscarriage. Friendships formed in the "flowery house" not infrequently lead to marriage.

After motherhood a girl is expected to discontinue all intercourse with pre-marital lovers, and this tribal rule is usually observed.

It is interesting to note that the term used for pre-marital relations (gli-nbaN-nu, i.e. pigs—and-dogs-affairs) is the same term as is used for adultery.

Conditions of marriage: Marriage is exogamous, patrilocal and monogamous. Sexual relations between a brother and sister (i.e. children of the same parents) would be regarded as incestuous and very, very seldom occur ; though if it does happen the delinquents are not severely punished. Fear of the unknown which might ensue acts as a more powerful deterrent than tribal injunctions. Sexual intercourse is also prohibited between persons of the same surname whether kinship can be traced or not.

The children of two brothers and the children of two sisters may not marry each other but marriages between the children of a brother and sister are regarded as peculiarly appropriate.

Dowry and Bride-Offering: The father of the bride gives clothes to her, and occasionally a cow, horse, sheep or pig.

There is no fixed bride-offering which is arranged by a go-between and which varies with the status and personal condition of the groom whose parents pay it. Should the father be dead the bride-offering is paid by the father's brother. I am informed that formerly the "li" (the native term used to describe gifts made by the groom or his group) consisted of two pounds of spirits, a couple of fowls and a bag of oat-meal. Now the "li" may be anything from a pig, a couple of fowls, a bag of oat-meal and a bottle of spirits, to a cow, pigs, and from ten to thirty sheep. This is due to contact with the Chinese. Frequently presents of oat-meal and fowls are also made to kinsmen of the bride.

Betrothal and marriage ceremonies: The first formal proposal comes from the parents of the boy to be married, and a go-between, of a different surname from the parents, arranges the betrothal. This go-between is a man who is friendly and affable and whose wife is still living. One whose wife is dead is not

used lest the girl whom he is bespeaking should perchance die. The bride desired is a girl who does not pilfer, has no malignant disease and whose relatives are upright and understanding. With a lighted torch, indicating that his business is propitious, the go-between goes to the village of the chosen girl's parents and greets them with the words: "Have you eaten ? Chicken and pork are coming to your home. "X" of such-and-such a village wishes you to build a new bridge over which I may walk. It is hoped that you will plant a flower for me. They are growing old and they wish to have a water-carrier." He then explains why he has come and formally asks the daughter's hand for "X's" son, and after a brief stay he returns home. From ten to twelve days later the go-between going back to the home of the girl's parents makes the same remarks when if the family is pleased with the proposal full particulars are asked about the boy's personal honesty and the boy's family and relatives. If the proposal is not desirable no enquiries are made it being merely stated that they do not wish to give their daughter. Should a favourable reply be made, some two weeks later the boy's father, unaccompanied by the go-between, visits the girl's home taking with him a bottle of spirits, a bag of oat-meal, a couple of fowls, and a large round cake made of millet (a foot and a half to two feet in diameter). He is entertained to a meal whereupon the

betrothal is complete. Before making a proposal the inclinations of the young people are occasionally consulted but more frequently they are not. After a betrothal the boy and girl strictly avoid each other.

Some months later a suitable wedding date is arranged by the go-between who avoids cow, horse, snake and tiger days and days on which any of the groom's near relatives have died. A day or two previous to the date fixed the groom, gaily dressed and accompanied by two or more young friends of his own sex, goes to the girl's home to escort her to his parents' house. He is not permitted to speak to the bride as they are not yet wedded. Sometimes he goes three days before and helps in the farm work to show what kind of a boy he is.

On the day that he accompanies his bride home there is not a great deal of festivity as this is only the minor ceremony. After a late or early breakfast in the girl's home they walk (the boys in one party and the girls in a second party) to the boy's home where they generally arrive in the afternoon. Here a sheep or a pig has been prepared, half of which is sent through the go-between as a present to the bride's parents. Friends gather for a feast and a merry evening is spent. From two to six unmarried girls, all dressed in their best, accompany the bride and frequently these girls sleep with the groom's companions; while not infrequently the bride, if she is being

compelled to marry a boy whom she does not like, resolutely refuses to sleep with him. A great deal of trouble is entailed by these forced marriages and I have formed the opinion that some Hua Miao women have been married once, twice, or three times to men who are now living, before they have settled down with the man they now call husband. After from three to ten days the bride returns to her parents' home and remains there until she is sent for by her husband's family which usually happens at sowing or reaping time, when there is much work to be done. When sent for, she goes to her husband's home without any bustle, takes her place in her new home, and does her share of the house and farm work.

At a later date a major ceremony is observed for which the bride makes a flowery gown for her husband, in return for which he takes a pig to the girl's parents. In some instances the girl's parents give a cow or horse to the young married couple. This is the greatest day of the whole marriage ceremony. Kinsfolk and friends of both parties are invited to the groom's house where a room is cleared out and seats put round against the wall for the guests who all make presents to the groom's family, maize, bottles of spirits, fowls, and sometimes Chinese money cash. These gifts considerably diminish the cost of the marriage feast. After the evening meal all the guests settle themselves for a night of spirit-drinking and song-singing, when both men

and women get disgustingly drunk. The legends of the tribe are chanted one after the other and the feasting, singing and noise may continue for from one to three days and nights. The girl then finally settles down in the home of her husband and is no longer allowed to gad about. There is no courtship as the Westerner thinks of courtship, though marriage is not regarded as complete until after the observance of this major ceremony and the birth of a child.

During the past twenty to thirty years there has been a tendency to combine the features of the minor and major ceremonies and to have one rite only. This is,no doubt,due to contact with the Chinese.

The average age for the minor ceremony is,in the case of the boy twelve to fourteen, in the case of the girl fifteen to eighteen. Very frequently the bride is several years older than the boy because by securing a grown up girl the mother-in-law has someone to work for her. Mothers-in-law have considerable power over young brides!

It may be observed here that the age of betrothal varies from infancy to puberty. It is even possible for a child to be promised in marriage before birth and, though later it may prove distasteful or unsuitable, such a betrothal is binding.

Sporadic Elopement: Individual choice is not always negligible as when the necessary consent is withheld by the authorities the Hua Miao young people sometimes take the matter into their own hands and elope. When this occurs the parents of the girl endeavour to overtake them, but if they do not succeed, after some time the irregularly married couple are allowed to return to the village and recognized as husband and wife.

Marriage by capture: Marriage by capture is not unknown. A youth who desires a certain girl (and if a girl is good-looking all the boys want her) will gather together a number of his companions and conceal themselves, either on the hills or in the house of some relative, near the girl's home. At daylight they rush into the girl's house and forcibly carry her away. I am informed that the girl, but not the parents, may fight against being taken by capture. If after some days the girl doesn't wish to live with the man who has carried her off, she is allowed to go home, and there the matter usually ends.

Divorce: Divorce which is expensive is not frequent and the rights and the wrongs of each case are decided by old, influential men from the villages of both parties. Resort to a Chinese lawcourt is seldom made. If the man were considered to be in the wrong his parents would have to pay as compensation to the girl's parents (or kinspeople) from one to three cows or

sheep, in some cases more; if the woman were considered to be in the wrong, her parents would have to return to the man's parents an equivalent to the marriage "li" (sub. 44).

If within a few months of marriage a girl doesn't care for her spouse she may simply return to him any clothes that his parents have given her and go back to her home thereby ending the marriage.

Adultery: ~~Infear~~ Conjugal infidelity both on the part of the wife and of the husband is common and is lightly regarded. Quarrels arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man but after beating her, the husband seems to forgive his wife's aberration.

An old man told me that in the beginning when mankind lived in the woods before any houses were built, youths went to live with the girls in their homes. When mankind began to build houses girls couldn't erect the framework, and, though they tried again and again, they never succeeded. A youth went to assist a girl to put up the framework and afterwards insisted that since boys built the houses the girls must come and live with the boys and not as it had been hitherto.

This is said to explain why youths and men wear ear-rings. Formerly when they went to wed the girls one of the conditions was that ear-rings must be worn; a waist-belt (girdle), made of a length of homespun, and an apron had also to be worn. Nowadays

when a girl is affianced to a youth she weaves a girdle for him. It is a kind of engagement ring.

Beliefs concerning the dead: Death, the final crisis, may be due to the malice of "bi-glang" (spirits and ghosts) or to "ah-yae-nêh" (magicians) or to a purely physical condition in which case it takes place when the "ah-gli" (soul) is wanted by Ndze-ki-niao (Ndze-ki-niao is both the emperor of bi-glang and the abode of the dead).

When dead a person becomes a bi-glang, it still possesses an ah-gli. The corpse is not feared but the bi-glang, especially those who have died recently, are greatly dreaded.

The fate of the Bi-glang: No clear conception is held concerning the fate of the bi-glang though it is generally believed that finally it is turned into some form of domestic cattle to be used as food by Ndze-ki-niao. It then becomes extinct.

The other world: At death the ah-gli goes to Ndze-ki-niao which is situated under the earth. Here it may dwell or it may wander about amongst the living. This land of the dead is regarded as being somewhat similar to this world and there is a series of gradations through which the bi-glang pass. Ah-yae-nêh can visit Ndze-ki-niao. Occasionally, either immediately after death or at a later date bi-glang may be

reincarnated into animals.

Treatment of the dying and the dead: Treatment before disposal of the body: Sick persons are usually tended with care. Before death takes place the person is sometimes clothed in his (or her) best clothes which are not fastened but left loose. The corpse is not washed. Hemp sandals are tied to the feet of the deceased so that if they tread upon the caterpillars, which are met with on the high hill which has to be traversed to reach Ndze-ki-niao, the feet will not be injured. Sandals are not attached to the feet of babes since they cannot walk.

No tears must fall on the corpse or death would ensue, the ah-gli of the person weeping being taken away with the dead. On this account near relatives, lest they should burst into tears, are not allowed to approach the deceased.

The finger nails are cut, mixed with mud and handed to a dead husband's wife or brother who keeps the cuttings for a short time and then throws them away. It is believed that the dead man's ah-gli resides in these parings. If the finger nails were not clipped the ah-gli of the deceased couldn't enter Ndze-ki-niao. Instead of cutting the nails of young children a small piece of the clothing is snipped off.

Burial: Each village and hamlet has a customary burial-place which is not regularly kept in any kind of order and which is very seldom visited. Where Chinese influence does not predominate coffins are not used. The corpse wrapped in a felt cape or rug, formerly worn by the deceased, is fastened to a board, carried out of the house feet first and then on the shoulders of bearers borne to the burial ground and laid in a shallow grave dug by fellow-villagers. A son of the deceased, or a younger male member of the family, bewailing the dead, follows the carriers. The grave is lined with boards, or if these are not available with branches, and the body is laid on the back with head pointing to the East and the face looking upwards. After boards or branches have been placed over the body, the son with a mattock begins to fill in the grave, others assist and the grave is quickly filled up and the earth piled over it. To prevent wolves from scratching it open, brambles, weighted with stones, are placed on the top. Should the corpse be heavy it is said that bi-glang are pressing it down. Before leaving the burial-ground a little food is placed on the grave and a fire is lighted so that the deceased may warm himself. On returning, before entering the house, all who have assisted purify their hands by washing them (not necessarily until they are clean) in a tub or basin of water placed near the door. Then all eat a meal for which meat is provided.

Babes as well as adults are interred; if they were not buried, a second child would not be born.

The soul of a dead person is never recalled. It is not wanted back. As soon as the corpse has left the house three small stones are heated in the fire and when white hot they are dropped into water and the whole thrown out of the door with the cry: "Your ah-gli has gone with you, your ah-gli has gone with you, don't come back to trouble us." (Cf. Blood superstitions, p. 173).

Grave-goods: When men are interred a pipe, tobacco, a sickle or reaping hook, a large knife and a length of rope may be placed on the top of the filled-in grave; sometimes in addition to these there may also be a hoe, a wooden basin, a wooden spoon and an open basket for grain. Usually only two or three of the above articles were so used. With women a needle and thread takes the place of the pipe and tobacco; and always immediately after death a woman's poke is taken down as otherwise she wouldn't be able to pass through the gate into Ndze-ki-niao. All such objects had belonged to the deceased in life and were to be used by them in the Other World.

Nothing made of copper or iron could be interred with the dead. This, I think, is due to Chinese influence.

Sacrifices: When the head of a household dies, unless death is caused by typhoid, an ah-yae-nêh is invited to "open the road". He is invited after the interment which takes place as quickly as possible after death, usually within a few hours. The ah-yae-nêh kills the old family sow to escort the deceased, and a second animal may be killed for helpers and guests. The idea is that the ah-gli of the dead man is going on a long journey and the ah-yae-nêh tells him or her the route. He says: "I will now show you the way to Ndze-ki-niao. On the road there are many caterpillars so you must keep your sandals lest the creeping things bite your feet. When you arrive at the gate of Ndze-ki-niao, the doorkeeper may refuse to let you in; you must beseech him to let you in. When he opens the door pass in quickly and go on and on and remain within for ever." Should guests bring gifts of oat-meal or ~~wine~~ spirits a little of each is sprinkled on the ground for the dead; and for a long while after a death food is thrown on the floor to propitiate the bi-glang.

Subsequently at different periods sacrifices are offered to ancestors. These I shall describe later (see p. 4)

Mourning: There are no customary signs of mourning and mourners are not in any way secluded from society. The anniversary of the death of a parent is remembered for many years. It is an unlucky day on which one may neither go to be a guest nor start out on a long journey.

Ceremony following disposal: To cleanse the house after death an ah-yae-nêh kills a chicken by cutting its throat and after boiling it he uses part of it to persuade any bi-glang which may be present to go away. He says: "This is a poor house, go to a rich house where there will be more food." Taking a small piece of the meat he cuts it into a square and places it in a basin. He then suggests that the bi-glang and he should eat together and drinking spirits he pours a little on the ground for the bi-glang at the same time throwing down the meat. Later he invites the bi-glang to accompany him out of the house and walking to a cross-road he drinks more spirits and sprinkles a little together with some meat on the ground for the bi-glang to partake. In this manner he coaxes them to depart to some other dwelling.

Abnormal deaths: A woman who has died in child-birth is carried to the grave in the hands, not on the shoulders; she is unclean.

Should anyone be killed or die outside, the corpse is never taken into the house. To do this would be disastrous since it would defile the home by bringing in "shiu" (blood spirits) of which people are very afraid.

Suicide: Suicide is common and the community pays little regard to it. It is usually done by hanging and is largely due

to the Miao being extremely sensitive. Sometimes if husband and wife differ over some matter which to a Westerner would appear trivial one of them may go out and hang himself (or herself). I knew a woman who because she burnt food which she was preparing for her children went out of the house in disgust and hanged herself; a Mission school girl hanged herself because she was scolded by her teacher, a girl of twelve because she was reproved by her mother. Twice I have met with cases where a boy and girl who had loved each other and who had not been allowed to marry hanged themselves with the same length of rope, one hanging on either side of the tree branch. The determination to hang oneself is so intense that suicide may even be committed by hanging to a rudely made bedstead only eighteen inches high. In such cases a noose is made in a way that as it tightens the suicide cannot loosen it and death is accomplished by pressing down the neck.

The corpse of suicide is buried, but not with, little ceremony, and the tree on which the deceased has hanged himself is cut down; if it were not otherwise entered the ah-gli would be unable to enter the gate of Ndze-ki-niao.

CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER IV.

Magical and Religious Beliefs and Practices.

The Hua Miao believe in a spirit world which, though only a shadowy facsimile, is as real as the world we inhabit. Since amongst the living there are good and evil people so in the spirit world there are good and evil spirits, the latter far outnumbering the former. Everybody lives in constant dread of the evil spirits which are everywhere and with which one may unwittingly come into collision thereby incurring grim danger. Good spirits are likened to soldiers; evil spirits to thieves and brigands. As the Miao use several different names for these "spirits" I will here describe them and then denote them by the term used amongst the Miao themselves.

Friendly spirits (gods?) are called glang or du-glang, and the "immortals" du-sí, but ideas about these are so vague and contradictory that I've never been able to understand what exactly is meant by these two terms. Many Miao maintain that glang are the ghosts of ancestors long dead.

There are maleficent, deceitful spirits called bi-ndzao which live in woods and on lonely hill-sides. They are deaf but very beautiful and entice young men and girls to commit evil deeds. Sometimes when a boy and girl love each other and the necessary authority for their marrying is withheld they

are allured by bi-ndazo to commit suicide and they in turn become bi-ndzao.

The Miao also speak of another class of spirits who live in the sky and are called ngao-dêh-nêh (heavenly messengers) reference to which will appear in legends to be recorded in a later chapter.

When a Miao man or woman dies he or she becomes a bi-glang and is very much feared.

Ah-kŭ-bi-glang which haunt gloomy mountain gorges in which there is dripping water are particularly mischievous; the harm they effect may be likened to that done by little thieves.

Ge-dzo have pointed ears and can overhear almost everything that people say. They dwell in large families within wet caves. Of similar dimensions to mankind they are extremely ugly though when viewed from behind it might be imagined they are attractive; their faces are pockpitted and the eyes sunk deep in the sockets. They are extremely maleficent.

Other evil bi-glang are those armed with guns or cross-bows, and the dog, wolf, leopard and tiger bi-glang.

Beneficent bi-glang are: Wild pigs which drive away typhoid; sparrowhawks which put to flight evil bi-glang; the dragon which surrounds and guards the house; thunder which frightens away bi-glang; mountain ox and deer which bring back the ah-gli (souls) of domestic cattle which have been bewitched; the mule; the donkey; wealthy bi-glang which dwell in pleasant

grottoes and on fine days bring out their clothes and bedding to air in the sun; Bo-ndzoe Yoe-ndzoe and the Seven ngao-dêh-nêh.

Glang-gu (gu means to burn) may haunt clothing causing it to catch fire.

Nü (the bi-glang of dead people) haunting certain places on roads cause people to trip up and fall. It is wise to avoid these spots lest something dreadful should happen. Once some Chinese were carrying a bride past a locality of this nature when she mysteriously disappeared leaving in her place a pig's head. Houses may be frequented by nü, A succession of deaths in a house is due to nü.

Occasionally unmarried girls who become mothers throw away their babes which become ah-shuh. As an ah-shuh it wanders to and fro until it meets with a pregnant woman upon which it enters her womb. When the child is born the ah-shuh by sucking the mother's milk gradually kills the new-born babe. After the child dies there being no more milk the ah-shuh departs to seek another victim. Children cry in the night when an ah-shuh is roaming about. Women who have difficulty in rearing children say it is because an ah-shuh bites the kiddies. An ah-shuh seeing a mother suckle her child craves the milk and comes to snatch it. Sometimes on the forehead of a child a cross is marked with soot or ink to keep away the ah-shuh. This cross is called the ki-gle-niao which is the name for wild cat; at

the mention of the ki-gle-niao the ah-shuh flees. If a woman who is nursing a child dreams of a snake or cat she becomes greatly agitated fearing the dream is caused by an ah-shuh.

The Miao also speak of 'shiu' which are referred to under "Beliefs concerning the Dead." ... (p. 56).

All the above spirits are believed to be generally invisible, but there are tales of men and women who have seen them, and ah-yoe-nêh constantly see them. Save for ah-yoe-nêh who have made friends with them, and have thereby become endowed with magical powers, all contact with spirits is dangerous. As a man (or a woman) goes about his work, the spirits come invisibly and strike him, whereupon he falls ill and may die. They are more dangerous at night than during the day, and a man is less likely to be attacked by them if he has company. After dark, unless armed with a torch as a protection against spirits which may be prowling in the neighbourhood, it is wise to venture out of the house as little as possible. Sometimes in the night bi-glang are heard to call "Guah, guah".

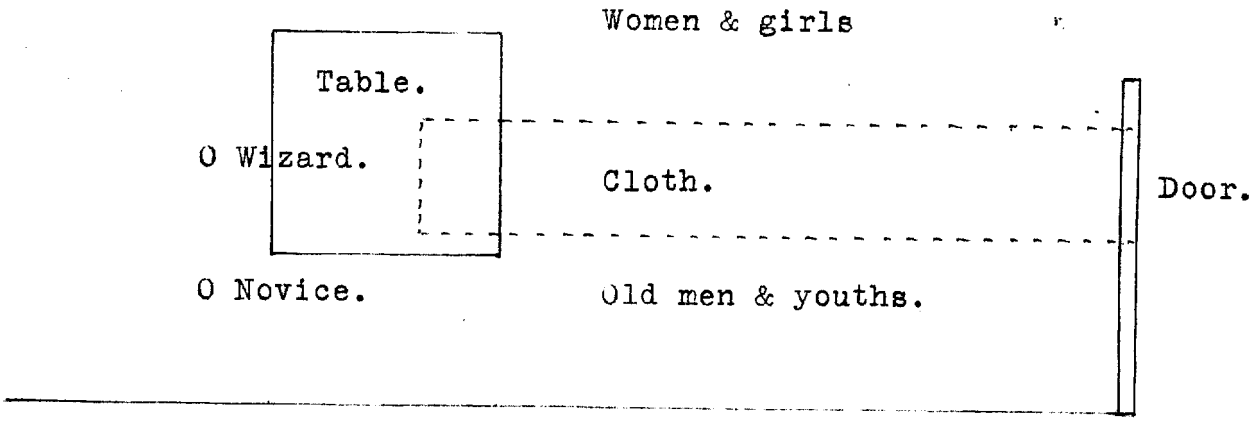
There are ways that are believed to have the power of frightening away bi-glang. Sticks may be used rudely shaped like knives and with black marks daubed on them to imitate fowls' excretions which bi-glang loathe. Ah-yoe-nêh sometimes mix these excretions with food offered to bi-glang; it makes them feel sickly.

Amongst the Miao there are certain individuals who are distinguished from their fellows by the possession of supernatural power called "ndzao". The name for these men is ah-yoe-nêh (Ah-yoe = man) who correspond with the medicine-men, magicians or shamans of primitive societies. A woman may possess this power (she is called ah-bo-nêh, ah-bo = woman) though it is more usual for men to become famous than women. Nzdao may be possessed in a smaller or larger degree and may be used beneficently, in which case the ah-yoe-nêh evokes awe and wonder, or maleficently when fear and hatred are evoked. With skilled ah-yoe-nêh the craft is hereditary, the familiar spirits (bi-glang) of one generation seeking out the son of a second generation and offering to become his servants; they are like the slaves of a feudal lord in that when the overlord dies they enter into the service of his son and heir. The familiar spirits do not visit a man until he is married and has at least one child, and should his wife die, they leave him.

The possession of ndzao is not always hereditary, occasionally a man or woman may acquire it, and more rarely one may even possess it without knowing it.

A dexterous ah-yoe-nêh, Ma Ch'eng-hsin, once described to me how he acquired this supernatural power. After he had responded to the call of the bi-glang an old ah-yoe-nêh of wide repute came to Ma Ch'eng-hsin's home to conduct an initiation ceremony with a view to driving away all maleficent

bi-glang and soliciting the goodwill of the beneficent ones. A fat pig was slaughtered and a feast prepared to which were invited a large number of guests including four unmarried girls, four unmarried youths, two married women with children and several old men. The women invited were mothers of large families, this being auspicious in that in later years it would help the novitiate to assist women who experience difficulty in child-bearing. The girls, who donned their prettiest garments and carried umbrellas (this is indispensable), were needed to entertain the bi-glang. At the ceremony the guests were arranged in the following order:



The old ah-yoe-nêh stood behind a table placed at the end of the room opposite the door. A length of blue cloth was stretched from the table to the outside of the door; it is on this cloth that the bi-glang enter, the cloth serving as a carpet. The gaily dressed women and girls with their umbrellas up stood to the left of the ah-yoe-nêh. Immediately to his right stood Ma Ch'eng-hsin, while facing the women and girls stood the old and young men. Inviting the bi-glang to enter the ah-yoe-nêh called upon the novice to receive his guests. Thousands of bi-glang came, men and brightly robed women and girls carrying umbrellas. Maleficent bi-glang amongst the visitants were driven away by the ah-yoe-nêh squirting spirits at them from his mouth and throwing grains of maize at them at the same time saying: "Evil bi-glang you are not to enter, you are not wanted." When all the bi-glang had come in everybody sat down to a feast, the women and girls eating with the women and girl bi-glang, the men eating with the men bi-glang. When the feast was over bees' wax was burnt and then the newly initiated ah-yoe-nêh escorted the bi-glang to the door bowing them away as though they were not ethereal but corporeal guests.

For a fee the initiator was given half of the pig, a pint of maize for his horse and a length of cloth.

A month later Ma Ch'eng-hsin was led by his familiar spirits to a secluded place near a running stream of clear water.

Saying that he was not to be afraid, two bi-glang held Ma Ch'eng-hsin's hands behind his back while a third opened up his stomach from which he removed the bowels. Two other bi-glang took these to the stream and washed them, while at the same time other bi-glang blew through their half-closed hands into the opened body to keep it cool. After being thoroughly cleansed the bowels were replaced and the ripped flesh drawn together by the bi-glang operative, who, spitting into his hands, rubbed the spittle over the wound and healed it. Warning Ma Ch'eng-hsin that he was never to eat dog flesh nor when directing rites to partake of any kind of meat the bi-glang left him.

Once a month the familiar spirits, three in number, visited Ma Ch'eng-hsin. Coming on the same day of each month they arrived just as he was falling asleep and then the little poverty-stricken hut changed into a huge palace several hundreds of feet long; and rough-hewn wooden pillars and rafters became shining gold. In his ecstasy Ma Ch'eng-hsin saw the bi-glang chief, who, gorgeously robed and with a beard long and white as snow, sat on a chair at the head of a bi-glang assembly. Around him stood old male bi-glang while in front of him stood two long files of bi-glang which no man could number, one of male bi-glang and opposite a file of female bi-glang. All were dressed precisely as people dress in the world of the living. The chief's name is Bo-ndzoe Yoe-ndzoe (bo means woman

or wife, yoe man or husband).

When visiting a house to expel maleficent bi-glang an ah-yoe-nêh's familiar spirits accompany him, and at the dwelling where his assistance is needed the ah-yoe-nêh calls upon Bo-ndzoe Yoe-ndzoe who brings an army of assistant beneficent bi-glang. The attention of the familiar spirits is drawn by burning bees' wax in the ah-yoe-nêh's home fire. Standing erect he says: "I am going to the house of So-and-so to heal sickness, please go with me."

To prove that he possesses ndzao an ah-yoe-nêh has recourse to the following devices.

Vegetable oil which has been heated until it is scalding hot is sucked into the mouth by the ah-yoe-nêh, who, stamping his feet on the ground and calling upon the evil bi-glang to depart, squirts the oil over a lighted torch causing it to emit sparks in an alarming manner. A man who has not ndzao would not dare to put his lips to the basin.

With bared feet an ah-yoe-nêh will tread upon a white-hot ploughshare. Seeing this exhibition of power maleficent bi-glang tremble believing that the ah-yôe-nêh wears red shoes to expel them. This is singularly effective when a poisoned wound is to be dealt with as the hissing, sizzling sound prognosticates a cure; after licking the ploughshare the ah-yoe-nêh sucks the wound.

An ah-yoe-nêh explained to me that he was able to accomplish the above exploits because at such times the friend

of ah-yoe-nêh, known as the Spirit-of-the-snow-hills, moderates the heat in the oil and cools the ploughshare.

I should remark here that I myself have not witnessed the performance of the above extraordinary devices as when I have wished to do so, ah-yoe-nêh have maintained that my being an unbeliever would hinder their magical gifts which in my presence could not be exercised.

By employing their familiar spirits ah-yoe-nêh are able to bewitch and inflict disease upon either man or beast. They can release invisible arrows (malefic geomantic influences) at an enemy and effect great havoc. This form of magic is spoken of as "to ah*nêh". Where the arrow strikes the body a twinge of pain is experienced followed by violent pains and unless aid is solicited from one skilled in the craft death often ensues. The ah-yoe-nêh who comes to render assistance applies his lips to the place where the arrow is believed to have entered and sucks out the poison whereupon recovery is speedy. The victim of a secret arrow can discover his assassin by sleeping on a pillow of small bamboos; during sleep he sees the enemy. I have met with two instances where it was believed that typhoid had been caused by ah-yoe-nêh, who, when traced, were beaten to death.

Another form of magic is spoken of as "ah-nao-nao" and this is not confined to ah-yoe-nêh. Anyone desiring to harm a foe may do so by securing a small piece of his enemy's clothing, or

some of his hair, or a few feathers from an enemy's fowls. Uttering a curse he (or she) buries the cloth or hair or feathers either near to or some distance away from the enemy's hut and after a while the curse accomplishes mischief. For the most part this form of magic is resorted to only by old people against unfilial children and the evil is not effective until after the death of the person wishing it. Then indeed sickness and at times death comes to those who have been cursed.

By pronouncing a curse over and burying a few hairs taken from cattle the death of an enemy's horse or cow or pig can be brought about.

To nullify these curses a Miao solicits the aid of an ah-yoe-nêh, who, going to the hut of the supplicant, summons his familiar spirits to assist a large cock to find the buried rag or hair or feathers which the fowl does by scratching first in one place and then in another. When the buried article is disclosed the spell is rendered void. The cock is given to the ah-yoe-nêh as his fee.

(p. 58)

Exorcism of bi-ndzao, is performed at night. Taking a branch of a peach tree an ah-yoe-nêh sticks it into the ground and hanging an egg on it by means of a length of black wool he sits nearby and gently persuades the bi-ndzao to enter the egg. A man with a torch stands nigh. When the egg moves the ah-yoe-nêh orders the bi-ndzao-possessed to strike the egg

with a large knife whereupon he is healed. In some instances the bi-ndzao is persuaded to depart by the sacrifice of a chicken.

(p. 60)

To exorcise an ah-shuh, an ah-yoe-nêh kills a cock or a hen, boils it and then places a few of the very small bones into a little, narrow-necked, earthenware bottle into which by burning old cloth he coaxes or drives the ah-shuh. While doing this the ah-yoe-nêh employs his familiar spirits to stand at the door of the hut to prevent the ah-shuh escaping. If the ah-shuh refuses to be coaxed, it is driven into the bottle by means of a branch from a peach tree, ah-shuh fearing peach trees exceedingly. During the performance of this rite folded clothes are opened up lest the ah-shuh should hide within them. Sometimes the ah-shuh to evade capture will metamorphose into a cat though happily a skilled ah-yoe-nêh by the aid of his familiar spirits can quickly detect the metamorphosis. As soon as the ah-shuh is in the bottle, the ah-yoe-nêh covers the opening with a red cloth, and taking the bottle some distance from the house he waits in a concealed position until a woman (or women) passes, whereupon, opening the bottle, he releases the ah-shuh which coming out runs after the woman and jumping on her shoulder takes a good look round and then slipping down her clothes disappears from sight. An ah-yoe-nêh can see the movements of an ah-shuh; the ordinary man cannot; to the ah-yoe-nêh

it appears to be a wee naked babe. After the exorcism, to cleanse the house and prevent the ah-shuh's return, the ah-yoe-nêh imbibing whisky from a ram's horn squirts it from his mouth around the hut, at the same time turning his hands as though performing mesmeric passes.

An ah-yoe-nêh once told me that after he had got the ah-shuh into the bottle he was carrying it along the road in a basket when he accidentally dropped it. The bottle broke and the ah-shuh jumping out ran back at a terrific speed to the house whence it had come. The ah-yoe-nêh was afraid to return to explain what had happened but a few days later he called at the house and quietly secured the delinquent.

One day I came upon a crowd of Miao accusing a man of having the power of overlooking their wives and children. They said he was able to cast evil upon any object he wished to injure; by letting his eye rest upon them, or by merely willing them evil, he could cast a spell and produce some malignant effect on any victim of his displeasure. In the village, children and women had been taken ill suddenly (the name given to the sickness was pneumonia) and it was believed that the accused had caused it as in each case he had either passed the door of the house or been met by the sufferer. This was the only explanation they could offer for the suddenness of the sickness, and in each case the woman after falling ill had seen

the face of the accused who, in vain, protested his innocence.

In the course of conversation I learnt that some skilled ah-yoe-nêh can injure an enemy and at the same time cause the victim to see the face of some other person thereby putting the sufferer off the scent as to who has injured him.

Ancestor-cult: In Miao magico-religious rites an important place must be assigned to ancestor worship. During the year immediately following the death of either a father or a mother, when any new cereal is eaten (potatoes, vegetables, maize, buckwheat, etc.), a small portion is offered to the ah-gli ("soul" and not "ghost" since "soul" is the word used by the Miao) of the departed ... it is a first-fruit offering. Such cereals are cooked, not raw, taken from whatever is about to be eaten and thrown on the ground at the upper side of the house. If the father had died, the mother would make the offering saying: "You little ones are not to eat yet, you are to wait until your father comes and eats. We give this to you old people, please protect us, please protect the children, give them food to eat and clothes to wear." Whatever is sprinkled on the floor is eaten by dogs or chickens ... whichever can first secure it.

Such offerings are made to both father and mother but only to one generation.

The-Little-Spirit-Sacrifice: (The "ah-ngah-glang"). When funds will allow, this extremely sad ceremony is observed in memory of the departed. Commencing after dusk has fallen it takes up the greater part of the night. To this observance

all neighbouring relatives-of-the-same-surname are invited. An ah-yoe-dzu-mu (priest) officiates offering in sacrifice a small pig (either male or female ♀),and several chickens which are killed and cooked within the house. The words spoken by the priest are: "Come mother and father of X (the deceased man's or woman's name is never mentioned) come and take your chickens and pig. Come wives of X's father's brothers (if on this occasion the wives are invited, on the following occasion the brothers themselves will be invited) come and take your chickens and pig. Old mother don't be angry, don't be displeased. You are here in"----"(mentioning the village where the woman died). Old father get up and lead away your pig. Please don't be angry or displeased. Old father, old mother come to the head of the house and take away your pig. We bring chickens and a pig for you to lead away. Cause your descendants to be numerous. Throw off your weakness and weariness (caused by coming to the place of sacrifice). Old man, old woman,you have arrived. The chickens and pig are cooked. Come take your meat and maize; maize fills the basket, meat fills the bowls. Come take your meat and maize. Take your chickens and pig away from "----" (mentioning the name of the village where the old folk lived). You have now partaken of your maize and meat; you may go back now; don't be angry. Take away from here all

sickness and all ill-luck, and go back to your dwelling place. May your hair be white for ten thousand years and may your descendants be numerous and prosperous."

The pig and chickens are then eaten, everybody partaking.

This rite may be observed on three separate occasions, never more.

The breast and shoulder of the pig are given to the priest.

The Atonement Sacrifice:- (Gia-vang): This is a more elaborate rite for which a sow reared by the sacrificant is invariably used. No Miao family (except the most poverty-stricken) will be without a female pig and as soon as this is sacrificed another is secured. When a son leaves the paternal home and sets up house for himself, his parents must give him a sow.

The atonement sow is black, one without blemish, a speckled or reddish sow is never offered, and it must have had at least one litter; if it has had several, so much the better.

The following is a description of the procedure of the Hmao Nglêh-vao clan and although with each clan there are slight variations an account of one typifies that of all. A priest performs the rites which are observed on a "cow" or a "horse" day, no other day being auspicious. Within the house, on the upper part, alongside the wall, a frame of sumach wood is

erected. It is 4 ft high, 5½ ft long, having a width of from 2 to 3 inches. On the top of the frame at each end a small bamboo is fastened; between these are attached three stalks of long grass together with three leaves of the iris plant, and amongst these, three wooden bowls are placed (the number of sacrificial articles must be odd, 3 stalks of grass, 3 leaves of iris, 3 bowls).

Outside the house the pig is trussed up, whereupon, taking a small basked of sumach chips, a little buckwheat and some chopped grass the priest throws them at the pig's head expressing the wish that the sow should bear away every kind of ill-luck, illness and trouble. All relatives-of-the-same-surname are present and as each head of a family is mentioned some chips, buckwheat and grass are thrown at the sow's head. Each time these are thrown the priest says: "Our (the sacrificant's) sickness, our ill-luck, the ill-luck of our relatives who are present we give to this sow to bear. May our descendants be very very numerous. The members of this family have gone without food so that the sow might be well-fed. The sow is sent to fill up any holes through which the souls of this family might pass (i.e. we give this sow to prevent illness coming). We send it to prevent measles and smallpox. The members of this family have gone without food so that the sow might be

well nourished. We sent it to prevent typhoid coming. We sent it so that we might all be free from coughing."

By cutting its throat the sow is then killed (not by the priest) and after being cleaned and divided up it is taken into the house and placed under the frame in this order: the tail, - the hind feet, - the sides, - the fore feet, - the head. On the floor, in front of the wooden frame, are arranged nine wooden basins, 3 basins for each generation, since the Hmao Nglêh-Vao clan worship 3 generations, father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, great-grandfather and great-grandmother. All other clans worship one generation only, the father and mother. With these basins is placed a large wooden bowl of meat and a basket of steamed buckwheat. Using a wooden spoon the priest puts into the 9 basins buckwheat, meat and gravy saying: "Ancestors come, and give your assistance so that the pig might take away the sins of this family." The contents are then emptied on the floor. This is repeated 3 times, the bowls being emptied backwards over the shoulder since this is food for the departed; (when food is placed into the basins of the living it is done with a different turn of the spoon from the way it is put into the basins of the dead; great care is exercised in this). On each occasion the priest, stating that the pig has been sacrificed for them, beseeches

the ancestors to protect the sacrificant's family and all the families represented; "Your food is cooked, come and lead away your pig." Amongst the Hmao Nglêh-Vao and Hmao Ch'Ïh clans, during the performance of this rite, a drum is beaten. It is struck by any Miao man, but it may not be touched by Chinese or Ipien or any woman. It is lent to different villages a gift of meat being made to the owner. No reason is given for the beating of the drum though one man suggested it was done to call the souls of the departed. A communal meal is then eaten - the whole of the pig, with the exception of a shoulder, which is given to the priest, being consumed.

Women though present are not allowed to take any part in this rite, their duty being to behave circumspectly and not to speak. They are, however, permitted to partake of the communal meal. Should the wife of the departed be living she does not eat any portion of the sacrifice; for her a chicken is cooked, and she eats it apart from the other guests.

Three days later the frame is taken out of the house and left to rot. Though firewood may be scarce the frame is never burnt.

It is a glad ceremony commencing at about eleven o'clock in the morning and taking up the greater part of the day.

In the observance of the gia-vang rite the Hmao Dang-Cho clan use for divining purposes a small bamboo, about 8 inches

long, split down the middle into two halves. These are dropped on the ground, and, when they fall so that the straight side of one points upwards, and the straight side of the second points downwards (placed together the flat sides would conjoin), the sign is auspicious, and the soul of the father is invited to come to eat his food and lead away the votive sow. A shorter bamboo is employed to divine the propitious moment to invite the mother. Chickens are offered to the souls of the ancestors of all relatives-of-the-same-surname who attend the ceremony; sometimes as many as thirty chickens being presented. Occasionally two pigs are offered, one for the parents of the sacrificant, the other for the parents of the nearest relative. This clan placed on top of the altar small bundles of long grass, bamboo and bracken which were preserved until a second sacrifice was made some 2 or 3 years later.

When offering the Atonement Sacrifice, the Hmao Ch'ih clan has a special custom. Two priests are needed, who, a considerable while before daylight, come to the house of the sacrificant. Complete silence is observed. A rope is handed to the priest, and the sow for the sacrifice, the scape-pig, is pointed out. It is led away to some distance from the house where it is slaughtered; the sacrificant follows carrying a bundle of dried grass for the burning of the pig's bristles. No word is spoken until after the priests have quartered the pig and

washed out the intestines when the owner addressing them says: "I have lost a sow, have you seen one?" The priests reply: "As we were going to such-and-such a place to do some work we saw a wolf carrying off your pig." Thanking them for rescuing his sow he carries it back to his home where the votive offering, as described above, is made. Old men say that originally the Hmao Ch'ĭh and Hmao Nglĕh-vao clans observed identical sacrificial rites but that once, when one of the Hmao Ch'ĭh clan had dedicated a sow, two wolves took her off in the night. Now when the sacrifice is to be made great secrecy is enjoined and two priests are engaged so that they, like the wolves, may take away the pig.

It is imperative that all these sacrifices be directed by a priest. The priesthood is hereditary, a father passing on his office to the eldest son; a younger son cannot be a priest. If the local priest be deceased and no other priest is available, no one would venture to officiate, since it is feared that such presumption would be followed by illness or even by death. When a priest becomes old he teaches his eldest son. This may not be done in the home lest bi-glang overhearing should be angry. To avoid this the ah-yoe-dzu-mu takes his son to a sheltered place at the foot of a cliff where in the presence of a dried tree root (ah-ch'i-doe) he initiates him, the tree-root

bearing the guilt if bi-giang are listening. The priest assumes office only when definite sacrifices are to be made since these cannot be offered by the ordinary man. Usually he attends to the work of his farm, and is not a priest such as one meets with in Buddhism and Taoism. Each district has its own priest. No special regalia is worn nor are there any purificatory ceremonies.

Members of each clan use a priest bearing the surname of that clan ... a Hmao Nglêh-vao for the Hmao Nglêh-vao clan, a Hmao Dang-cho for the Hmao Dang-cho clan, etc. Priest Hmao Nglêh-vao cannot officiate for a member of the Hmao Dang-cho or Hmao Clu-gli or any other clan.

The most elaborate manes-worship rite is that known as the Big-Spirit-Sacrifice ... the Ah-nieh-glang. It is usually observed after some serious illness during which the spirits of departed ancestors have been invoked and a gift of oxen promised. Should the sick person recover, the vow must be paid; otherwise death would ensue. Whatever the origin of the ceremony it has become an occasion for gluttonous debauchery and sexual indulgence. Families are frequently ruined by it, as the expenses incurred are enormous being altogether out of proportion to the means of ninety per cent of the people.

Here too the rites are performed by a priest though the services of an ah-yoe-nêh are also requisitioned in order to guard against ill-disposed persons releasing secret arrows to injure any of the guests.

Either cows or bulls may be offered, three being the smallest number sacrificed, one for the grandfather, one for the grandmother and one for relatives-of-the-same-surname. If it is a first offering, three oxen are the usual sacrifice, five oxen are used for a second offering, and seven for a third; odd numbers are sacrificed, never even numbers.

Pine trees are stuck into the earth around the place of slaughter, three pine trees when three oxen are killed, five for five oxen, and seven for seven.

Each ox is felled with an axe and afterwards the throat is cut with a large knife. It is a disgusting and gruesome sight. While the oxen are being slaughtered, a man, dressed in a specially embroidered woman's skirt and with his hair done up like a woman's, plays the pipes posturing while he plays. At the same time a drum is beaten, the drum being employed by every clan for this rite. In some instances while the oxen are being killed a hawk is released. The hawk is said to symbolise the pardoning of sins (or escape from punishment); its swift flight, first up and then down signifies the manner in which the sins of the sacrificants are taken away.

After the oxen are killed, a baked millet cake thrown into the air brings good luck to whomsoever should secure it in the resultant scramble.

The oxen are then boiled and served with maize or buck-wheat to scores, sometimes hundreds of guests who eat, drink and carouse for from two to three days. It is an established custom that each guest should bring sufficient maize or buck-wheat or other cereal for his or her consumption.

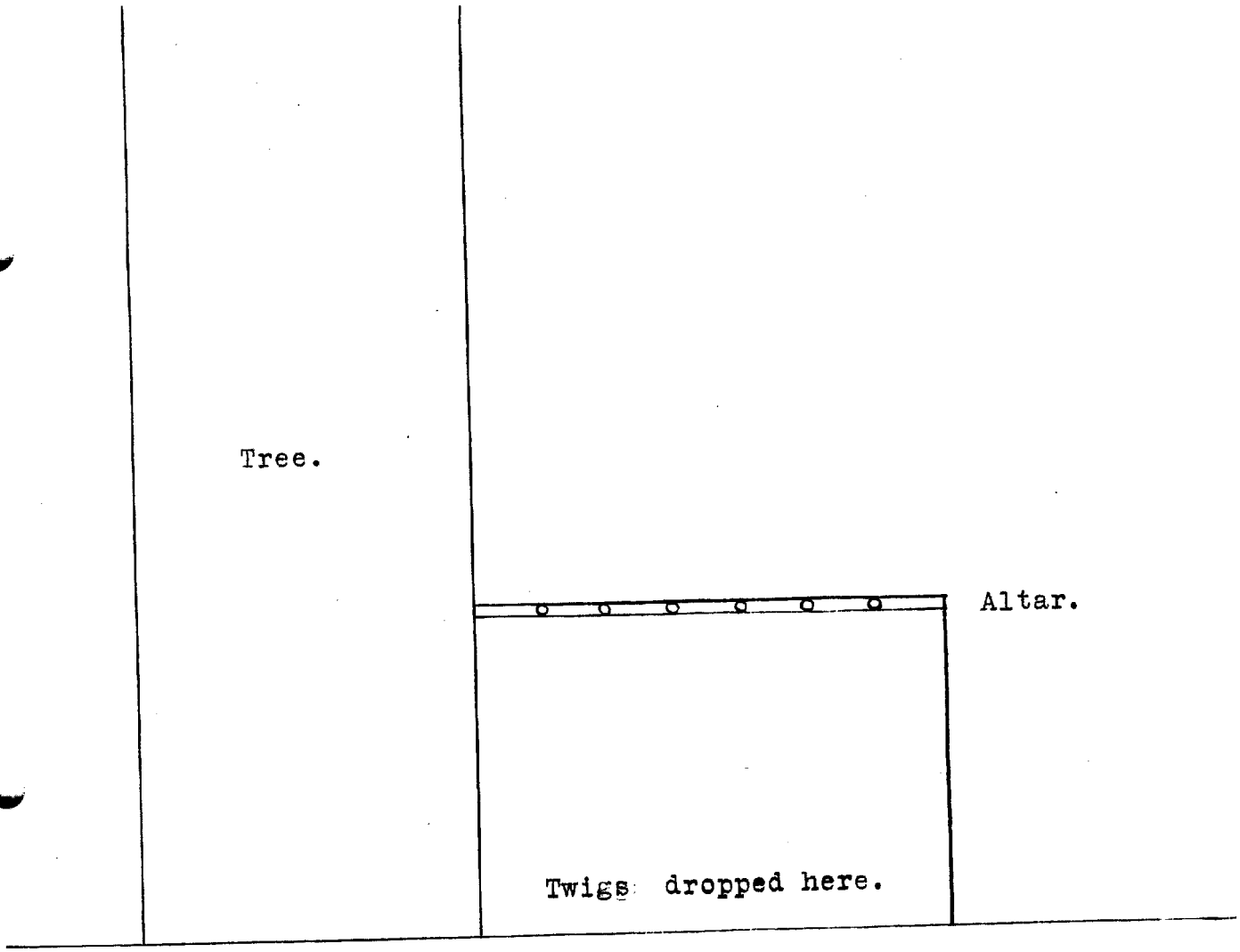
Amongst the Hua Miao people I find it difficult to give labels to what is magical and what religious but I think the elaborate tree cult (Klau-ndas) which I am now going to describe may be regarded as religious rather than magical. It is a rite which seems

to be intimately connected with the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the cattle, though I don't think the people themselves would make such a statement.

Each village or hamlet reverences a local tree which is invariably an oak (of the dwarf oak species, other trees and more especially soft wooded trees are not suitable), the best oak in the vicinity being selected. It is most efficacious when it stands on a hillock at a higher elevation than the hamlet, and can, as it were, over-look it. Such a tree is the village guardian, and is an object of deep veneration. To peel the bark from it or to break a twig would be sacrilege. The axe is never laid upon it nor upon those trees in the immediate neighbourhood. No wood may be hewn and no branch broken in the grove, and, generally, women are forbidden to enter it.

The cult is of two kinds; one is an individual, private worship, the other communal, the latter being the more important. Each year the ceremony is observed early in the second month (corresponding to our February or March) before any work has been done to prepare the ground for sowing. The head of each home in the village accompanies the ah-yoe-dzu-mu (priest) to the holy tree. Women are not allowed to attend the ceremony though children of both sexes may be present.

For the sacrifice a large cock and a measure of buckwheat are needed. With twigs the priest erects a small altar next to the tree. It is some twelve inches long, nine inches broad and nine inches high, measuring from the ground.



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Kneeling before this altar the priest first divines whether the tree is pleased to accept the sacrifice. To do this a small piece of sumach wood is used. It is four and a half inches long and from a half to three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The bark is taken off, the ends are pointed, and the wood is split down the centre lengthways. Kneeling, the priest takes this split twig and, holding it under the altar, offers a prayer and then drops it. If the two halves separate but lie on the ground in such a manner that the flat surfaces face each other (i.e. the flat surface of one half touching the ground, and the rounded surface of the other ~~touching the ground~~ aforementioned) the omen is most satisfactory. If the two halves when they touch the ground rest without separating, it is believed that the sacrifice will give pleasure. Should each of the two halves lie on the flat surface or each on the rounded surface, so that they do not, as it were, properly mate, the omen is inauspicious. In such cases the divining twig is dropped again, and, if necessary, again until the two halves fall in the approved manner. If this necessitates more than two or three throws, the worshippers feel that for some reason the tree is displeased with the village.

When it is ascertained that a sacrifice will be acceptable, the priest, using a knife, cuts the cock's throat ~~with a knife~~, holding the cock in such a manner that some of the blood falls on the tree above

but not on the altar. A few feathers are plucked from the cock's throat and by means of the blood stuck to the tree. During this procedure, and indeed throughout the whole ceremony, the devotees stand in front of the tree. On no account are they allowed to stand behind. A little distance from the tree and to one side of it a hole is dug, water is brought, a fire is kindled, and here the cock is plucked and boiled, while at the same time a small quantity of buckwheat is steamed. As soon as the cock and buckwheat are cooked, three pieces of meat (part of a leg, part of a wing and a piece from the breast) are laid side by side on the altar together with four small portions of the steamed buckwheat, the priest uttering these words: "Oh tree, oh hill, we beseech you to watch over our village. Guard us from the tiger, the wolf, the leopard, from thieves, from destructive rains, from hailstorms, from sicknesses."

Later, a rite is observed for each family of the village. In every case, as the name of the family is called, the divining twig is employed to ascertain whether the tree is pleased to accept the sacrifice, the twig being used in the manner described above. If the two halves fall ~~in a~~ satisfactorily, ~~whether~~ that it is felt, the tree is pleased with the family whose name has been mentioned. Should it be necessary to drop the twig several times before the two halves lie on the ground in the approved manner, the tree and hill are displeased with that

family ~~in question~~. The divining twig having fallen in the correct way ~~approved manner~~, a little gravy, a little meat and some buckwheat are placed in a wooden spoon, and this the priest pours over the twig saying: "Oh tree, oh hill, we beseech you to protect all the members of this family, his cattle, his harvests." A libation of ~~wine~~ spirits is then poured over the whole, thereby completing the ceremony for the family which has been named. Afterwards the twig is taken up, a second name called out and the same procedure adopted. The ceremony is observed for each family in the village, every detail being carefully complied with. When the sacrifices have been completed, the men partake of a communal meal of maize and chicken, while the meat and buckwheat, which have been laid upon the altar, are solemnly eaten by the priest.

Sometimes small chips of sumach wood with chips of a species of wild holly, are placed under the altar, the idea being that the sumach tree chips, which are white, represent silver ~~being offered~~ offerings, while the holly chips represent gold.

The ceremony commences in the early morning and as it is a long ritual it takes up most of the day. There is no reverence as we understand reverence, though each detail is rigorously observed. ~~Whiskey is~~ Spirits are freely drunk, and before the close of the sacrifices some of the devotees become inebriated.

When the ~~ceremony~~ ritual is ~~over~~ completed each man returns to his home,

feeling that the year's crops will perforce be satisfactory, that there will be no illness amongst the cattle or people and that all will be well. The divining twig is left under the altar which is not taken down, ~~and which~~ is sacrosanct, ~~It~~ and is not touched until the following year when a new divining twig is sought and a new altar built.

If there is not a suitable tree near the village a stone is selected to serve as the village guardian. A stone indeed is considered by some to be preferable to a tree and the ritual observed is precisely the same. A stone shaped like a human being is most highly prized, even though the likeness be extremely crude. Such a stone should stand alone and should be upright. One which I have visited stood only three feet high. It was shapeless but it was the biggest and most distinctive on the hillock behind the village, and this explains why it had been chosen for worship. The selection of the tree or stone is made by the village elders, and when once a tree or stone has been worshipped it is sacred to all succeeding generations. If at any time anything should happen to the tree and it should wither and die, a new tree is sought. The withering of the tree, if from natural causes, does not adversely affect the welfare of the village.

An old ah-yoe-dzu-mu informed me that the reason for tree worship is because the oak is sturdy and long enduring. The stone is worshipped because it lasts for ever. Water comes and

goes, but not so the stone; it is always standing. Men are as water; the stone is strong and stable. Hills and trees stand higher than man and so can protect him.

During the year should any member of the village be ill, man, woman or child, the stone or tree is visited, a cock sacrificed, and help invoked. On these occasions the ritual is simple and the services of a priest are not required.

There is a quaint superstition about natural stone archways. If a man has been sick for a long while, on his birthday, he invites his friends to a small feast and going to the archway he crawls through. As he emerges from the other side his friends call out, "Ah, you are born again." It is believed that in this manner the illness will be cured.

The Hmao Glu-gli clan worship a selected mountain (or hill) and not a sacred tree. It was explained to me that to this clan the tree cult is really worship of the mountains, the tree or stone being merely the place for the raising of the altar. As the door is to the house so is the tree or stone to the mountain to which is given an air of personality. Like a man a mountain has wisdom and strength, unlike a man it does not possess an ah-gli (soul). It prevents hailstones from injuring crops and safeguards against typhoid and small-pox. When an offering is being made no one may ascend the mountain. It is said that once while hunting one of this clan took ill and vowed that if he got better he would sacrifice his dog to the ah-gli of his ancestors. He recovered and using his stick killed the dog. Now when the sacrifice is made a dog, a black or white bitch, one of any other colour being prohibited, is felled with a hoe and then the throat cut. It is eaten entirely, nothing being left over. Women are forbidden to witness the offering as when the vow was first made no woman was present. At this sacrifice an ah-yoe-nêh officiates.

All the Hua Miao state that they worship the mountains. The tree cult (hlang-ndao) and the mountain cult (hlang-faodchao) appear to have become very much intermixed and I have never been able to understand fully all that is meant by

"hlang-fao-dchao". Another term used by these people is "hlang-mi-seh" which means nature-worship and includes the worship of mountains and groves. Amongst Hua Miao who have not assimilated Chinese or Western influences no religico-magic ceremony is of more importance than the cult of the door. The door is sacred, and a proper respect for it is indispensable to success and happiness throughout life. As I have already been mentioned Miao huts are oblong, the door being placed at either one of the ends. On no account is a door opened in either of the sides. The fact that the door is rudely fashioned makes no difference to its extraordinary sanctity. Everything in life is contingent upon the door, which is carefully opened and closed, and with which children are not allowed to play. They are not even permitted to touch a door to which an offering has been made.

It is commonly believed that if anything be chopped on the threshold of a house, children born in that house will be harelipped.

There is no fixed date for door worship. Rarely is it sacrificed to more than once in three years, and frequently much longer intervals ~~then this~~ intervene. The time selected is commonly that following on the ingathering of the harvest. If there is illness, the ceremony may be observed, and, when the head of the household waxes old the rite is performed to initiate the eldest son into the cult. If he is not

naturally bright and intelligent a father instructs his second son. An ah-yoe-nêh determines a propitious date, but he is not allowed to be present at the ceremony. The head of the household is his own priest. When a day has been fixed, the sacrificer and goes to the hills, where he cuts a few bamboos with which he fashions a small bamboo door, as the door to which offerings are made is not the main door of the house. It is this small door, especially ~~fashioned~~ made for the occasion and attached with bamboo strips to the larger door. Formerly this larger door was also made of bamboo, but during later years it has been made of wood.

People are secretive about this sacrifice and no mention is made of it to neighbours unless a man is performing the rite for the first time, when the families in the village who bear the same surname as himself are apprised of the date, and the heads of these families are expected to be present. On subsequent occasions only the members of his own family are allowed to be present.

The usual procedure is, towards evening, to sweep ~~clean~~ the house clean ~~towards evening~~. At dusk the door is closed, after which no household belonging is allowed to be taken out until daylight on the following day. To carry anything out of doors at such a time would cause something dreadful, possibly death, to happen to some member of the family. A young female pig which has not given birth to a litter is now taken, and holding

it close to the door, the ~~sacrificer~~ immolator cuts its throat, and allows the blood to run into a hole dug under the jamb on which the door is hung; the hole is never made beneath the jamb to which the door fastener is attached. No altar is used. In this hole ~~are buried~~ the bristles, blood, and the water in which the entrails have been washed, are all buried. Everything unclean is ~~buried~~ deposited here; nothing is thrown outside. The pig is then cut into pieces, heart, liver, stomach, entrails included, placed in a large iron pan and boiled, while at the same time millet is steamed. If millet cannot be secured, buckwheat may be used. During the cooking of the food silence is rigidly observed. When the meal is ready, the village kinsmen are invited. They are not requested to come to a meal or sacrifice; all that is said to them is: "Please come", and, as I have remarked above, it is only on the occasion of a man's initial sacrifice that kinsmen are allowed to be present. They come in silence and in the darkness, as no lights are permitted. A light may be used in the house but those invited come and return in the dark. At the meal, during which nothing is said, the meat is taken with the fingers from a large central basin, and the guests using wooden ladles help themselves to the millet from one large central basket; all of them sit on the floor. It is really a kind of holy communion of which the sons of the household are allowed to partake, but not the daughters.

These are not permitted to participate because some day they will marry and go to another household, of which they will become an integral part. Were they to partake of the sacrificial meal their souls would become attached to the house of their birth, thus causing their marriagesto be unsuccessful. Sooner or later their husbands would discard them and they would be returned to their father's home. The wife of the sacrificer sitting apart from the men eats of the offering. Salt is the only condiment used as seasoning.

In preparing food Hua Miao are not cleanly, but on such an occasion as this very particular care is taken to ensure that everything is free from dirt. All bones and gristle are burnt in the fire, nothing is thrown on the floor. When the meal is finished each participant standing over the fire, wipes his mouth with both hands, throwing the breath, as it were, into the fire; afterwards he rubs the hands over it. In this manner hands, mouth and breath are all cleansed. It is a purificatory act. If the meat were not wholly consumed, that which was left over could be eaten on the morrow, but the bones and gristle must all be destroyed in the fire. After the meal the guests quietly return to their homes, but no member of the household crosses the threshold as this would cause blindness. With the exception of the father and the eldest son the inmates of the house now retire to sleep. Father and son wait until some

two hours before sunrise, when standing close to the door, the father eats a small piece of the cooked meat which he has carefully put on one side for this purpose, and in the hearing of his son quietly repeats a few words which have been handed down from generation to generation. Usually the formula is: "We worship thee, oh door. Keep away sickness Keep away disease. Keep away slander. Keep away defamation. Keep away all that is injurious." This completes the ceremony.

With each clan there are small variations of the above form of worship. The families bearing the surname of Hmao Dang and Hmao Ch'Th open and close the door three times, saying: "May we become rich. May our children be numerous. May our cattle multiply." The Hmao Glah clan before partaking of the sacrificial meal set out five wooden basins close to the fire. In these bowls are placed small slices of meat from the liver, stomach, heart and from each of the limbs of the pig. Then the head of the household, squatting on the ground, takes, in the left hand, a small bamboo, about three feet long, ~~in the left hand~~, and with the right hand successively ~~separately~~ raises each bowl, and crossing his arms he calls upon his ancestors, whether they are to the east or the west, the south or the north, to come and receive the sacrificial meat now offered. ~~from them~~. Afterwards this short length of bamboo is placed over the lintel of the door and when on future occasions further offerings

are made the bamboo is again used. At the decease of the sacrificant the bamboo is placed on his grave. Three basins, or seven or nine, can be used, but it is essential that an odd and not an even number of basins be employed.

Should ~~there be~~ a guest be staying in the house he is not allowed to participate. He is given his evening meal and sent to sleep in the loft. When sons marry, if they build separate huts and set up homes for themselves, the father, or, if he were deceased, the eldest son goes to their home and initiates them into the sacred cult. The reason given for the sacrifice is that the door has the power to keep away illness, bi-glang, and hostile influences of every description. There is an idea too, though it is of the vaguest possible nature, that in some indeterminate way a divinity or guardian glang is connected with the door. An ah-yoe-nêh informed me that the reason why the offal is buried at the door is as follows: Many generations ago the Hwa Miao were great hunters, but indigent. A member of a family being ill, a pig was required to sacrifice to the door. Thereupon a small pig was stolen, sacrificed and eaten. In order that no traces of the pig might be discovered the bristles, etc., were buried and the participants cleansed their mouths and hands over the fire so that there would be no odour. Though I record this I attach ~~very~~ little importance to it. / A story which seeks to explain the origin of the door cult

Paragraph.

states that a long, long while ago, a youth enticed a girl to come to be his wife. Before they reached home darkness overtook them, they stayed in a wayside booth to which there was no door. While the youth slept, a tiger came and allured the girl to go and marry him, (tigers as men figure sometimes in Miao folklore), and when the youth awoke the girl couldn't be found. It was thus that man realized how important the door is. The youth returned to his home and thenceforth sacrificed to his door so that it would keep away the tiger and evil influences of every description. The Hmao Dang clan asseverate that when an offering is made the door is opened three times to let in good influences, and closed three times to keep away bi-glang.

A complete enumeration of all magical and religious beliefs is, of course, not possible, but in conclusion I would say that I have found no trace of any belief in what may be called a supreme being. It is possible that there are beliefs in beings who are neither spirits of the dead nor connected with natural phenomena but I have not met with them.

In closing this section it should be observed that different statements, not only of different informants, but even of the same informant, are often contradictory. Examples of such contradiction will be found throughout my descriptions of these people, and it is important to point out their existence.

CHAPTER V

CHAPTER V.

Ceremonies for Illness.

Treatment for such diseases as body strain, weakness, indigestion, diarrhoea, dysentery, women's diseases, syphilis, constipation, cholera and sterility is given by herbalists who have a working knowledge of curative remedies. Other illnesses are treated by ah-yoe-nêh; if there be skilled in medicine so much the better.

Nervous Debility is due to the soul (ah-gli) having left the body and wandering aimlessly over the hills and dales. To induce it to return the mother, father or an ah-yoe-nêh takes a fresh egg, and, placing it on the fingers of the out-stretched hand, stands at the door of the house, calling to the soul: "If you have gone to the hills to work or to herd the cattle, or if you have fallen into a gully or been lost anywhere, come back to us, come back to us, come back." Should the egg roll towards the palm of the hand it is an indication of the soul's return. As an alternative to the use of an egg the clothes of the sick person are sometimes taken to the open doorway where the soul is called upon to return.

Sore and inflamed eyes can be cured by the burning of a handful of grass taken from the thatched roof of a house belonging to a man who bears a different surname from that of the sufferer. As the grass burns the smoke is fanned into the

eyes with a wooden spoon dyed red.

Insanity is caused by bi-glang. To restore the mind an ah-yoe-nêh uses a large iron pan and a long chain, which he heats on a fire until they are white hot. Removing them from the fire he places the pan on his head and the chain round his neck; he is quite uninjured. The insane person is then brought before the ah-yoe-nêh who tells him that the pan is going to be set on his head and the chain hung round his neck. If the afflicted one trembles and evinces great fear the bi-glang leave him and the patient is healed. Alternatively, should the sick person be violent and boisterous, saying to the ah-yoe-nêh, "Do it, do it, I am not afraid", the bi-glang cannot be expelled; he (or she) is incurable.

Headaches are produced by bi-glang which, holding invisible halters, lurk in highways and byways, and when a passing pedestrian stoops, perhaps to fasten his sandal, the bi-glang throws the halter over his head, causing a headache. To expel this bi-glang an acquaintance takes a basin of water, in whcih he places a chop-stick, and asks "Is it a Chinese bi-glang ? Is it an Ipien bi-glang ? Is it a Miao bi-glang ? Is it a Chung-chia bi-glang ?" (Ipien and Chung-chia are aborigines of S.W. China). At the mention of the species to which the bi-glang belongs the chopstick moves, whereupon a little cooked maize is dropped into the water. The basin of maize and water is then held near the head of the sick man, turned round two or three times,

spat into and taken a few yards distance from the house, and the contents thrown to the ground. This allures the bi-glang, which taking the halter from the head of his victim, hastens to eat up the food, and the headache is cured.

Marasmus is due to possession by a bi-glang which can be expelled only by a very skilful ah-yoe-nêh. Its capture is effected in a manner similar to that of an "ah-shuh" (see p. 70), the bottle subsequently being buried neck downwards, thereby making escape utterly impossible.

Running sores and boils on the head are caused by contact with ge-dzo (see p. 59). The cure is singularly difficult, and the ah-yoe-nêh who claims to be able to deal with them is correspondingly rare. He must be invited surreptitiously and the rites performed secretly, otherwise the ge-dzo would hear and retard the healing process. An ah-yoe-nêh thoroughly conversant with his art assured me he experienced no great difficulty in ascertaining the whereabouts of ge-dzo and of keeping a watch on their movements.

Pneumonia is entirely due to black magic performed by an anti-social ah-yoe-nêh, and perfect health can be restored only by the breaking of the spell.

Ague: The eating of melons is believed to be one of the principal causes of ague which is due to seven kinds of bi-glang taking up their abode in the body, viz:-

1. The bi-glang which makes a man feel cold.
2. The bi-glang which makes a man perspire.

3. The bi-glang which makes a man shiver.

4. The bi-glang which makes a man wish to drink.

5. The bi-glang which makes a man wish to eat.

6. The bi-glang which makes a man want to sleep.

7. The bi-glang which makes a man feel utterly exhausted.

There are three cures for ~~this~~ ague:

1. ~~The patient~~, Taking a few ~~bones from a~~ sheep or pig, bones, the patient leaves his home and goes into a wood. Lighting a fire, he boils the bones and cajoles the bi-glang into partaking of the repast thus prepared. Whilst the bi-glang are feasting the patient quietly creeps ~~away~~ back to his home, when he is lost to the bi-glang.

2. As the bi-glang dislike and are fearful of snakes, a snake skin is placed over the man's head, whereupon the bi-glang go away.

3. A friend suddenly enters the hut, and, seeing the sufferer lying on the floor, he calls out, "Why are you lying on the floor where there is a snake ?" upon hearing this the bi-glang hastily take their departure.

Toothache is caused by the gnawing of worms, and can only be cured by extracting the teeth, which is done in the crudest manner. After extraction the teeth of adults are thrown on the housetop; this ensures good luck. In the case of children shedding milk teeth, the top teeth are thrown between the knees

to the ground, whilst the bottom ones are thrown over the shoulder. Were this not done the new teeth ~~would~~ might grow upside down. If a baby's teeth are slow in coming a recent bride is asked to rub the gums. Should a boy cut his upper teeth first he is sometimes dressed in girl's attire, whilst a girl who cuts upper teeth first may be dressed in boy's attire; this is done to protect them against bi-glang.

Typhoid is caused by particularly malignant, black bi-glang which are much dreaded. Upon discovery of the fever an ah-yoe-nêh is called, but as he also is scared of the attendant perils and risks, he not infrequently refuses his assistance. If he can be prevailed upon to attend he uses a basin of water, into which he puts as many sound grains of maize as there are members of the family. This is stirred vigorously and then allowed to settle. Should the maize settle all together the omen is good, but if one should be separated from the rest, a member of the family will certainly die. Subsequently the water is poured into a bottle, firmly sealed, turned upside down and fastened over the doorway. One hundred and twenty days later the ah-yoe-nêh again visits the family to examine the bottle. If there has been no leakage, everything is eminently satisfactory, the bi-glang have gone.

In serious typhoid cases an ah-yoe-nêh will occasionally use wheat straw and make a small effigy of a man which he clothes with white paper. Taking a cock, the ah-yoe-nêh bites

the comb until blood is drawn, and ~~the blood is~~ allowed to drip on the head of the straw image. ~~The sick man having spat~~ After having been spat upon by the sick man ~~on~~ the effigy ~~is~~ is sent to Ndze-ki-niao, where it becomes a substitute for the patient, who, if the rite has been correctly performed, gradually gets better. A similar effigy is used to effect a cure of small-pox.

Before commencing to heal any case of typhoid the ah-yoe-nêh enquires when the sickness commenced. The 3rd, 6th, 9th, 13th, 16th, 19th, 23rd, 26th and 29th of the month are inauspicious for men, whilst with women the 1st, 4th, 7th, 11th, 14th, 17th, 21st, 24th and 27th are ~~extraordinarily~~ unlucky days. ~~Such~~ These dates betoken serious illness and probably death.

When on arrival the ah-yoe-nêh finds the patient unconscious, he puts up his umbrella and suspends it over the patient's head, thereby warding off hsiu' (blood spirits, see p. 173) which are extremely malevolent. ~~Hsiu are the bi-glang of people who have met death by mischance.~~ the bi-glang of people who have met death by mischance)

Typhoid is so much dreaded that when contracted a man's kith and kin are often afraid to nurse him. The sufferers may be covered with a felt cape, water and food ~~are~~ placed near by, and ~~they are~~ then left to their fate. If they get better, well and good; if they die, they are buried immediately, or dogs find the dead body and devour it before burial takes place. I have known cases where mothers have died leaving behind wee babes which, as no one would adopt them, have been buried alive

with the deceased mother. This is not in any sense due to heartlessness on the part of the Hua Miao but to their great fear of typhoid, which at times sweeps through their hamlets, making terrific inroads on the inhabitants. Black bi-glang lurk in and near doorposts, ~~and~~ but it is believed by the more daring that if a visitor to a typhoid patient does not touch the doorposts and adjoining walls the typhoid will do him no harm. A copper bracelet is considered an efficacious amulet against this dread disease.

In some cases of sickness the ah-yoe-nêh employs a medium to seek out and rescue the sick person's soul which has been captured and taken to Ndze-ki-niao. It is the absence of the soul that has caused the illness. I have not seen a medium employed but it was described to me as follows:- As a preliminary rite bees' wax is thrown into the fire. (The ah-yoe-nêh explained that this is because bees travel everywhere to secure material with which to make the wax, and for this reason the burning of the wax opens up the way to Ndze-ki-niao and assists imprisoned souls to return). Should the smoke from the wax rise up in a straight line the omen is good, but if it floats near the ground it is bad, and the patient will in all probability die. This prognostication having been made, the medium is wrapped up in a large felt cape and laid upon his back either on the mud floor or on a low bedstead. A hand mill-stone is placed on his chest, and on this a wooden bucket, filled with water, is rested, whilst a small wooden bowl floats

on the top of the water. This bowl is then rhythmically beaten with chopsticks by a layman. The ah-yoe-nêh, taking up a position in close proximity to the medium, waits until he has fallen into a sound sleep. To direct the medium over the circuitous and difficult road to Ndze-ki-niao the ah-yoe-nêh now commences to chant prayers: "Bo-ndzoe Yoe-ndzoe, call the seven heavenly messengers (who are females) to get up quickly and come with brass and iron fans (to blow back the soul of the sick man). Come and help me. I bring food and drink for the ancestors who lived in Hmao-yang (the village where the ancestors resided when living). Let your descendant return. He is your very own descendant. I bring food and drink that you might release him and permit him to come back. This road is most difficult to travel. We deserve censure for not giving you old people food and drink. Because you who died in Hmao-yang and did not receive your food you have called your descendant to Ndze-ki-niao. Bang's (Bang is a term for 'son', no names are used in these ceremonies) grandmother, Bang's grandfather, come to Hmao-k'ao (where the sick person is lying ill). Bo-ndzoe Yoe-ndzoe, call the seven heavenly messengers to come from the north and from the south to help me make this journey. I am going to ask Bang's grandmother and grandfather why their descendant is sick. I do not know who is to blame. Burn some wax (this to an assistant); the road is exceedingly slippery and there are many caterpillars. Bring a horse quickly (this

to the good bi-glang) I wish to travel to Ndze-ki-niao. Coming to your village I am in great fear; I fear your dogs will bite me. Please help me by holding in your dogs. Bang's grandmother's and grandfather's grandson (note the periphrastic way of speaking) is ill. I come to seek him. I am seeking the ancestors to find out what is the matter and who is to blame. The ah-yoe-nêh (through the medium) now arrives at the second division.(In Ndze-ki-niao there are twelve divisions of ascending grades of importance. The ah-yoe-nêh can journey from the lowest or first grade to the sixth, but cannot go beyond). "It is beautifully fine here. There are many cicadas which chirp loudly. This is a good place in which to dwell. Bang's grandmother and grandfather, has your grandchild passed this way ?" "We've seen many people go through here but we don't know whether he was amongst them". (The ancestors are not yet willing to tell the ah-yoe-nêh whether their grandchild has passed that way). Reaching the third division, the ah-yoe-nêh is asked, "Where are you going ?" "I am going to find Bang's grandmother's and grandfather's grandson. Please help me to find him". "Oh, he is over there on yonder hill. Whose grandchild is he ?" "He is Bang's grandmother's and grandfather's grandson. He is ill, and the blame is his because he did not give the sacrifices he promised." "We saw the yamen runners (i.e. policemen) take him through here." "When did you see him pass ?" "A long time ago, on the sixteenth of the third month."

"He has asked me to come to learn why he was brought to Ndze-ki-niao. Why is he sick ? I wish to know the facts of the case." "For no other reason but that he has not given us the hen and pig he promised." "Since he has not done this I will go back and ask him about it, and find out whether he will keep his promise. The yamen runners have taken him, burn more bees's wax and we will find him." The ah-yoe-nêh encounters the yamen runners and says, "Give him to me to take back." They reply, "He must give what he promised, and until he does this we cannot release him. That is why we brought him here. You go and tell him that he must make the sacrifice." "I will see that he does this. Where is he ? Take me to him." The ah-yoe-nêh is taken to the prison, the door is opened and the sick man led out. Ndze-ki-niao asks, "Is this he ?" "Yes, it is he." Whilst chanting the above formulae the ah-yoe-nêh sprinkles maize on the floor to provide food for the horses of the bi-glang who have come to his assistance.

When the medium awakes he asks to be allowed to get up, and rising he sits by the fire, relating how he has been to Ndze-ki-niao where he met the sick man's soul bound securely with cords, and how by promising a pig he has secured the release of the captured soul.

If the patient gets better the promised pig is sacrificed. This must be done by the ah-yoe-nêh though it is not necessary for him to kill the animal. After the pig is boiled a little maize and meat are sprinkled on the floor (for the ah-gli of the ancestors), and then all the members of the family partake of the feast. A leg of the pig is given to the ah-yoe-nêh as his fee.

Mediums have been known to die while they have been in such sleeps, and for this reason a medium is selected who has not lost by death either father, mother or child. It is thought that if in his travels in Ndze-ki-niao, a medium should meet such deceased relatives, he might be persuaded to remain with them and not return to earth.

There are several ceremonies for sickness which may be observed without the help of an ah-yoe-nêh as for instance when a child is ill the father will sometimes take him (or her) to a place where three or four stones or rocks stand together. Breaking one or two eggs upon the largest of the stones he invokes it to protect his child. Then in the presence of this stone he ties round the child's neck a cord made of hemp and wool (in the case of a boy the cord is red and white, in that of a girl it is black and white), and as he fastens the cord he says:-

"We won't allow you to go to heaven,
We won't allow you to go to hades (Ndze-ki-niao),
Live for ever, live for a hundred years."

The people say that this ceremony is performed in the presence of a stone because it is strong and never melts.

CHAPTER VI

CHAPTER VI

Nature and Natural Phenomena

The Hua Miao say that the sun and moon are as large as a plain (plateau) and that the sun is a woman who comes out in the day, and the moon a man (some say the sun's husband) who comes out at night.

The sun is ruled by a woman called La-bo-k'a. At sunrise she is a little girl, by breakfast time she has grown into a big girl, by noon into a full grown woman, by the time she is westering she has grown old, when about to set she has become very, very old and her head sinks upon her knees, when the sun has set she has died of old age. Every day is like this. It is thought that both the sun and moon go over and under the earth; in the daytime the sun is above the earth, during the night it is underneath.

The waxing and waning of the moon is over-ruled by a man who has a ladder possessing fifteen rungs. On the first day of the moon he ascends the first rung, on the second, the second, and he climbs until the fifteenth rung is reached; on the sixteenth he commences to descend; fifteen days ascending and fifteen days descending, in all one month (lunar). No-one may point at the moon. Whoever points will have his ears

out off, because being a man the moon's heart is bad like a man's heart. The sun being a woman may be pointed at since like a woman she is gentle.

A second version of the phases of the moon is that an emperor, whether Miao or Chinese is unknown, built a castle fifteen storeys high. On the first of the month he enters the bottom storey, on the second he is in the second storey, and he ascends until on the fifteenth of the moon (full moon) he is in the top storey. On the sixteenth he commences his descent dwelling in a different storey each night.

Stars are as large as a mortar (in which grain is pulled), but unless they are counted to a finish they must not be numbered; otherwise the counter will be pursued. Once there was a man who commenced to number the stars but he went away before he had counted them all. Suddenly one with a headless body came out and chased him. Escaping into an Ipien's sheep-pen he was horned by a ram and when daylight came he couldn't be found. Hence people now say that the stars must not be counted.

The evening star (lu-hli-lu-bi-eh'u) is the moon's companion, while the morning star (n'u-ku-sang-ndu) is the companion of the sun. Before the moon is full, when the evening star is seen with him, people say that as the moon is not yet full he wishes the star to be his friend, when he is full he doesn't want his friend.

At the horizon heaven and earth interlace like the meshes of a net. In the east and west there are two holes through which the sun and moon pass in and out.

The stars are nailed firmly to the sky like hobnails in a boot. In the daytime they pass into the heavens, at night they come out. The Hua Miao do not appear to group the stars into constellations and stars are not distinguished from planets.

Heaven is male, the earth female. Under the earth is a giant who holds up the world, and on either side of him is a male dragon fowl, which watch over him to prevent him from moving; thereby the earth is kept stable. Should this giant change his position an earthquake occurs but the dragon fowls peck his eyes and compel him to stand still again.

T'ien-kuan-ssü (this is a Chinese term) governs the seasons; Ndze-ki-niao life and death. When people die they go to Ndze-ki-niao who taught the Hua Miao the custom of killing cows when ancestors are worshipped. If a good piper dies, it is said that Ndze-ki-niao is holding a festival and has sent for the piper to play.

Meteors are the excretions of the stars.

The sea is unknown nor are the people aware that rivers flow into the sea, all rivers and streams being thought of as flowing into a large hole through which they pass into the land underneath the earth known as zang-glang-nglieh-di. On either side of this hole is a huge rock exceedingly hot. The

heat of these rocks dries up some of the water from the rivers and streams changing it into clouds which are steam from these rocks; rain comes from these clouds. The people who inhabit zang-glang-nglieh-di are very, very tiny; those in heaven are giants. (See the legends of ~~the youth who fell into zang-glang-nglieh-di, and of the quails~~ 'Lilliputian land' and of 'why quails travel by night'.)

Eclipses of both the sun and the moon are caused by Ndze-ki-niao's dogs endeavouring to devour them. However, as neither fears the dogs ~~and~~ no ~~fear~~ amusement is evinced.

Hail comes from holes in the earth and is vomited by a toad which is as large as a buffalo.

People are very afraid of thunder and of his axe (lightning) which will strike anyone who, after shedding his or her first teeth, touches a woman's milk. Women exercise great care so that none of their milk will drop on the family food or on the cattle fodder since such milk would induce lightning and cause the death of humans or cattle. I have never been able to learn what ~~thunder is~~ the Meo Miao believe to be the cause of thunder.

Children who shepherd cattle are taught not to be cruel to worms, insects or birds, as cruelty to these would affect the natural sequence of the weather and cause wind and rain to be inclement.

Explanations of ~~the~~ any peculiar ~~shape~~ configuration of rocks are common, it being thought they are shaped like people.

The Hua Miao appear to have taken from the Chinese the names of their twelve lunar months ~~from the Chinese~~ which make up their year but the order is different. January is the snake month, February horse, March sheep, April monkey, May fowl, June dog, July pig, August rat, September cow, October tiger, November hare and December dragon. With the Chinese the order is tiger, hare, dragon, etc. December being cow.

The pharmacopoeia of the Hua Miao contains a great many plants but I have not been able to gather together reliable information. On the surgical side I have seen that ligatures are used to stop bleeding and to prevent the spreading of poison from a snake. The leaves, stem and roots of mi-dü and nglao-chue-dao (I don't know the English names for these) crushed into a pulp are plastered on the outside of broken limbs of both people and cattle and the plaster is said to possess singularly efficacious healing properties.

CHAPTER VII

CHAPTER VII

Myths, Legends and Folk-tales.

Amongst the Hua Miao there are ~~to be~~ found some gifted story-tellers who can narrate a legend, myth or folk-tale with great charm. Such stories do not appear to be the prerogative of any definite persons though some men gain outstanding reputations for being able to recite them. It is difficult to reproduce the atmosphere created by a skilled story-teller who delights both old and young, and though I have translated some of the tales I haven't succeeded in making them live as do the Miao. To do this is impossible for a westerner. I have never met with an account of creation though no doubt there are old men who will have one. There are legends of the deluge, the re-population of the world, and the origin of animals; and from the following pages the nature of Hua Miao life and thought, of their customs and beliefs, can be gathered.

It should be noted that as I have endeavoured to give the folktales in words and sentences as near as possible to those used by the Miao, some of them will be somewhat tautalogical and stilted in style.

The Deluge

Glao-giao-dzu-lao married Ni-bo-ndzah-so who was a very beautiful woman and two sons were born. The elder was called Ndao-yiu, and the younger, Ndao-ya. One day these two brothers went out to dig. They gathered up the stones into a heap and delved much ground. Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu came and seeing this, replaced the stones and with a stick turned back the dug up soil making the land as it was before it had been disturbed. Ndao-yiu and Ndao-ya couldn't understand this and went out and dug the earth again. Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu with his stick once more turned back the soil. Ndao-yiu and Ndao-ya, bewildered by what had happened, erected near to their land a booth from which they might keep watch, and after again digging the earth they widtdrew into the hut. Presently they saw Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu come and with his stick commence to replace the soil; so rushing from their hiding place they laid hold of him. Ndao-yiu suggested beating him but Ndao-ya said, "No, rather let us ask him what it all means," and this they proceeded to do. To their questioning Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu answered, "The people of the world need not use their strength to till; you two brothers need not trouble to delve; this year a great flood is coming to submerge the earth." Ndao-ya believed and desired to tell all the world, but not so Ndao-yiu who wished to beat Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu. This Ndao-ya would not allow and calling Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu, Ndao-ya questioned him. In answer Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu said, "I am telling you the truth, exhort all the world to make

a boat, there is going to be a deluge." Upon this Ndao-yiu became very angry and would have beaten Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu had he not been prevented by Ndao-ya who asked a third time what it all meant. Once more Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu explained, and added, "You should make a boat of pine-wood, and let Ndao-yiu make a boat of iron." At breakfast time, on the day on which the flood was to come, it was beautifully fine. Ndao-ya and his sister entered the pine-wood boat, Ndao-yiu the boat of iron. As Ndao-ya was going into his boat Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu gave him a ~~very white~~ very white hen's egg, and enjoining him to carry it in his arm-pit said, "When the chick chirps, the water will have subsided." In thirteen days the deluge had drowned all the people of the world in addition to Ndao-yiu within his iron boat. After a month had elapsed the chick came out of the egg and when it chirped Ndao-ya longed to go out. Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu sent down a heavenly messenger (ngao-dêh-nêh) who made a very small opening in the prow of the boat, an opening no larger than a star. Kneeling down Ndao-ya looked through this aperture and seeing that it was gorgeously fine he very much wished to go out. By this time the boat had grounded on the summit of a hill so Ndao-ya set free a crow to explore but flying away it ate people's flesh and did not return to report. He released a magpie which also went away and ate people's flesh. Then he set free a lark which soaring upwards sang to the heavens. Hearing it Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu sent down a heavenly messenger to open the boat upon which Ndao-ya with his sister came

forth. Ndao-ya saw a flock of small birds (nao-ssu-gga-ndzie, a little bigger than sparrows) fly and alight on the top of a cliff where they merrily chirped, "Dzu, dzu". He was so miserable at the desolation around him that taking a knife from his waist he flung it at the nao-ssu-gga-ndzie. He missed the birds but the knife struck the cliff and caused sparks to leap forth which fired some grass. In this way brother and sister secured fire by which they might warm themselves. The smoke going upwards Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu became worried and came down to look. Everybody in the world had died, only Ndao-ya and his sister were left. Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu pondered for a long while but couldn't think what to do. He thought, everybody is dead and there is no one for these two people to marry. Then he said, "You two must marry;" but both brother and sister were very unwilling. Though Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu considered the matter again for a long time he couldn't think what to do. Finally he said that Ndao-ya and his sister were each to take a grain basket and from opposite sides of a valley they were to roll down the baskets. If, in the valley the two baskets were united, brother and sister were to regard this as a sign they were to wed. This was done but though the baskets, after rolling down the hill sides, were joined together in the valley neither the brother nor the sister would agree to marry. Yoe-gioh-glang-hnu then propounded that they should each take a mill-stone and roll it down from opposite sides of the valley and that if the two stones came together they must

certainly wed. This was done and when on descending into the valley the upper and the lower millstones were found united, Ndao-ya and his sister married. After more than a year a son was born but he had neither head nor limbs. Taking the unnatural child outside they cut him into twelve pieces which they threw into twelve different places. Each piece changed into a first-of-a-clan man and from these the Hua Miao clans have descended.

I will translate the following legend sentence by sentence giving firstly the Hua Miao and secondly a literal translation.

Yang-yah bo hnu hli... Yang-yah shoots suns moons.

Ni hi bi-dao... says legend...gu ah-t'ao-li ma hsiang lu-hnu hsiang lu-hli... formerly there were seven suns seven moons...zie nglie-di ni... shine upon ~~earth~~ world this...ndao ah-dzah k'a dang ngia...trees plants wither completely...ja ma ih fang-ndao ki-nie dzoe dchao vā Yang-yah lu gli ao da dang... only there is one tree mulberry able by side of Yang-yah stream ...Yang-yah gioh ah-dao mao ndo fang-ndao ki-nie ni lo ah hnêh ...Yang-yah takes axe goes cuts down tree mulberry this comes back makes cross-bow... nü ma ah-go lo ah du-hnêh... he takes roots comes back makes cross-bow...nü ma ah-nchih lo ah vo... he takes branches comes back makes arrows ... nü gioh mao bo

hnu hli dohao vā lu bang ang... he takes goes shoots suns moons in ponds...nü bo hsiang hnêh dohao hsiang lu bang ang... he shoots seven bows in seven ponds... nü dohā mao nio vā lu bang ao bo hsiang hnu dohao hsiang ch'ioo...he then goes in ponds shoots seven suns in seven places...ma di hnu hli ni bo hu-bêh sang... takes these suns moons shoots all...t'ao-i hnu hli hi doe da gi dang...then suns moons not come out shine... nglie-di ni dzao ndu glu li ngie... world this dark black... hi bo gi nchih ga...not see light a little bit...mao gioh di ya doe dohao dohao du niu ts'ai-gu ah-lie gioh-di...go cultivate land need to light torch on cow's horns slowly cultivate land... dêh-nêh mao bü nêh...people go attend horses...hi bo gi...not see light...ya doe dohao dohao du-nêh zang-dzao ah-lie bo gi bü nêh... need to light torch on horses' manes slowly see light attend horses... ah-li-ni nglie-di dêh-nêh hi... on this account (therefore) world's people say...gga-shih ah sang ndi...what makes sound long... du-jo ah sang ndi da... tiger makes sound long only..dzih go du-jo mao hu lu-hnu lu-hli... send cause tiger go call sun moon...du-jo mao hu lu-hnu lu-hli hu hi da...tiger goes calls sun moon calls not come...nglie-di dêh-nêh dohā hi...world's people then say...gga-shih ah sang hlo da...what makes sound big only...du-niu ah sang hlo da... cow makes sound big only...go du-niu mao hu lu-hnu lu-hli... cause cow go call sun moon...du-niu mao hu...cow goes calls... hu hi da...calls not come...nglie-di dêh-nêh dohā hi... world's people then say...ja-li-gi gga-shih sang shao da go gga-shih mao hu...therefore what sound small only cause what go call...

ja ma du-ah-lao-ggai sang shao da...only there is grown (or old) cock sound small only...ah-li-ni dzih go du-ah-lao-ggai hu lu-hnu lu-hli...on this account (therefore) send cause grown cock call sun moon...nglie-di dêh-nêh ma jêh ba dchao dzih-dzang...world's people take rug spread on bed...ma ju-nba t'ao du-ah-lao-ggai veh...give silk satin to grown cock cover..du-ah-lao-ggai bü dzo dang hmo-dang...grown cock sleeps night...du-ah-lao-ggai shoe gga dzih lo da...grown cock arises crows and crows... lu-hnu lu-hli doe gloe da dang...sun moon come out clearly... nglie-di dao bo gi...world able see light...nglie-di dêh-nêh hi dao gga-shih t'ao du-ah-lao-ggai...world's people not obtain (or able) anything to, give to grown cock...Yang-yah ma ih lu-za-ah-tz'ih t'ao du-ah-lao-ggai...Yang-yah gives a comb to grown cock... du-ah-lao-ggai dzoe gioh hi dzoe ndao...grown cock able carry not able wear ("not able wear" means "he cannot take it off and use it")...du-ah-lao-ggai lu-mu dü ah hnie dchao ah-sha sang...grown cock without effort carries teeth (of comb) on top...ah-li-ni...on this account..na-ni ggai gga gi ya sang ndu dang... now cock crows light about dawn...du-ggai lu za gi du ah hnie gla ah-sha loe...cock comb shines carries teeth (of comb) on top.

Nglieh-chiah

Long, long ago there lived a poor orphan boy named Nglieh-chiah, who went daily to the great river to catch fish. One day he caught a large flat fish which he brought home, and laying it on the head of his wooden bed he went outside to fetch firewood. On returning he couldn't find the fish; it had changed into a most beautiful girl who stood by the side of his bed. Nglieh-chiah asked her if she had seen his fish. "I am it", was the reply, "I have been changed from a fish to a girl and my name is Ngu-za-nieh-bang; look under my arm-pits and you will see that they are scaly like a fish's body."

They lived together, and later Ngu-za-nieh-bang asked Nglieh-chiah to build a larger house. "I have nothing to put in it", he said. She asked him to erect a cattle shed. "I have no cattle," said he. She asked him to make a large bin. "I have no grain", he replied. After much persuasion he made the bin, erected the cattle shed and built the house. His wife then explained to him that he was to go and bring seed and cattle from her father, Glang-hnu (who lives and rules under rivers and streams,) "If he gives cows to you, don't accept them; if he gives horses to you, don't accept them; ask for two whiskers from Glang-hnu's beard, place these in a round basket with a cover, and bring them back carefully." She said that the basket would be heavy, and as it was carried

it would grow heavier, but under no circumstances was Nglieh-chia to look into it. Nglieh-chiah went off, and, securing the two whiskers which were deposited in the closed basket, he commenced his homeward journey, but as he travelled the basket grew heavier and heavier until, unable to restrain his curiosity, he peeped inside. As soon as he raised the cover there flew out magpies, crows, eagles, kites, pheasants, larks, thrushes, blackbirds, in fact every kind of bird; and at the same time there leaped out tigers, leopards, wolves, bears and every kind of wild animal. (Such is the origin of wild animals and birds). Quickly closing the basket he hastened home and handed it to his wife, who accused him of having opened it. At first he denied this, but afterwards admitted having peeped within. "Alas!", said Ngu-za-nieh-bang, "instead of having all sorts of animals we shall have only hens, cows, sheep, goats, pigs, horses, cats and dogs." (Such is the origin of domestic cattle).

Time passed, and Nglieh-chiah became very rich. Once, when attending a Big-spirit-festival which was being held by Ntze-ki-niao, Nglieh-chiah met Ntze-ki-niao's youngest daughter who, though very beautiful, was very deceitful. He was enamoured of her, but she told him that before he could have her he must go home and send away his wife who, she said, was a leper. "If you do not believe me", she continued, "look at Ngu-za-nieh-bang's legs, and you will find that the skin will peel off." Returning home, Nglieh-chiah scolded his wife,

saying he was tired of her and didn't want her any longer. He accused her, too, of being a leper. Ngu-za-nieh-bang replied that he ought not to listen to other people's words, as whom people dislike they falsely accuse. "You truly are a leper", he said, and when he looked under her puttees he saw that her legs were scaly, and this he maintained was leprosy. She begged Nglieh-chiah not to send her away, assuring him that if he sent her away he would become very, very poor. But he insisted that she must leave him. "You took me from my home under the river," said she, "and you must take me back". On their way to the water she asked Nglieh-chiah to cut her a long length of rattan which she wound round her hand. Walking into the river until the water reached her knees, she turned and besought Nglieh-chiah not to send her away. But he was adamant, saying "We men are only able to say one thing, we do not change our minds." When the water reached up to her waist Ngu-za-nieh-bang turned round, and, winding the rattan twice round her hand, she asked her husband not to believe idle stories and to take her back. Still he did not repent, so on she went until the water reached her shoulders, when once more she besought him not to send her away. There was no response, whereupon she went on until the waters were up to her neck, when for the last time she begged her husband to take her back, adding that if he did not, he was not to blame her for what would happen. Nglieh-chiah did not repent, so, winding the rattan once more round her hand, she disappeared under

the water, and as she did so she gave the rattan one strong pull, when, behold! she pulled after her all Nglieh-chiah's cows, horses, sheep and goats. Nglieh-chiah caught hold of the horns of his large ram, and in a struggle twisted them, but the ram got away and disappeared with the rest of the cattle. (This is why all rams' horns are twisted).

When Nglieh-chiah reached home the house was empty, all his grain and all his cattle had disappeared. He went off to woo Ntze-ki-niao's daughter. As he approached Ntze-ki-niao's home two dogs rushed out, barking fiercely, and Ntze-ki-niao's eldest daughter went out to see who was coming. "It's only a beggar" she said to her father, who sent out to invite Nglieh-chiah in. Ntze-ki-niao asked what he was seeking, and on replying that he had come to claim his youngest daughter she laughed at him scornfully, spitting upon him and saying that he was not so eligible as one of their herd boys.

Repenting of his folly, unhappy Nglieh-chiah went to the river to look for his wife. He met a toad crocking "Wa, wa; wa, wa, wa." The toad, who was Nglieh-chiah's maternal uncle, asked him what was the matter. On being told how Ntze-ki-niao's daughter had injured him, and how, repentant, he had come to look for Ngu-za-nieh-beng, the toad said he would swallow the water but on no account was Nglieh-chiah to laugh. Thereupon the toad commenced to swallow the water at a great rate, but, when he had swallowed half, Nglieh-chiah laughed, whereupon the toad's stomach burst and the water returned. He met a

frog who asked him why he was crying. On hearing the story the frog said he would swallow the water, but under no circumstances was Nglieh-chieh to laugh, and with one mighty gulp the water ~~disappeared~~ swallowed; and Nglieh-chieh, seeing his wife in her home at the bottom of the river, rushed up to her and begged her to forgive him and return to their home. "No, no", she said, "I cannot go back, I have another husband now and cannot go back; come and see". She opened a window from which Nglieh-chieh could see her husband and children and many workmen labouring in the fields. "I cannot go back with you," she said, "you must ever be alone, but in remembrance of me I'll give you my girdle which you must wear upon your head;" and from her waist she took a length of snow-white cloth which Nglieh-chieh wound round his head.

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(Nglieh-chieh is the name of a bird which lives by rivers and streams, for ever hopping from stone to stone and flitting from rock to rock, looking into the water. Its technical name is unknown to me, but I call it a "white-cap". Its head is snow-white, its neck, throat and back glossy, jet black, the lower parts and some of the tail dark red. It is about the same size as a lark. The Miao call it "Nglieh-chieh", and say he is still seeking his wife.)

Lilliputian Land, or Why eagles steal chickens.

Two brothers went to the home of a man called Hmao Zang to ask if they might have his two daughters to wed. Tzu-yoe-lao Hmao Zang replied that he would first put them to a test. They were to use their fans to fan him, and he was to use his fan to fan them; if they succeeded in fanning harder than he, they should marry the two girls. They all commenced to fan, but Tzu-yoe-lao Hmao Zang fanned so vigorously that he raised a wind which blew the two brothers from the house down a precipitous cliff up which they couldn't climb back. Here they found the bones of what appeared to have been a man; the finger bones, arm bones, leg bones were all apparently human. Putting them togetherthey fanned them vigorously, and lo! the bones turned into an ape-man which, grateful for being brought to life, showed its gratitude by carrying the two brothers up to the top of the cliff. They went back to the house of the girls. Tzu-yoe-lao Hmao Zang being out, the girls told the youths that the best thing they could do was to change one of their fans for that belonging to their father which was lying in a basket. A fan was changed and towards evening Tzu-yoe-lao Hmao Zang returned. As the weather was very hot he took up his fan to fan himself, and recognizing at once that the fan was not his he asked the two brothers to lend him theirs for a few minutes but they declined. Again the test was suggested as to who could fan the harder, and on this occasion the two brothers succeeded in blowing Tzu-yoe-lao

Hmao Zang to the same precipice as that to which previously they had been blown. The girls were now free to go away with the two brothers. Much to the annoyance of the younger brother who was a crafty man, the somewhat stupid elder brother succeeded in possessing himself of the prettier girl. Their mother had told them that when they returned they were to travel by the big and not by the small road. They started out but after having walked some considerable distance the elder brother suggested that they should take the small road and to this the cunning, younger brother agreed since he knew of a deep pit alongside which they must pass. At a point near to this hole it was proposed they should spend the night and unknown to the elder brother the younger brother contrived to cover over the pit. For their evening meal the younger brother shot a bird which fell upon the camouflaged covering of the hole. He called to his elder brother to bring the bird and stepping on the false covering the elder brother fell through and went down, down, down, until at last he came to zang-glang-nglieh-di, a land, under the earth, inhabited by very tiny people who were amazed to see the arrival of a giant. However, they allowed him to accompany them to cut down trees; the axes used were no larger than needles, and the trees were no bigger than reeds. Food was given to him in acorn cups, the basins of the people of zang-glang-nglieh-di. By the third day he was so dreadfully hungry that he set a trap to catch a wild animal which he might eat, and he succeeded in

trapping a deer. As he was taking it out of the trap there flew up an eagle which stating that he was desperately hungry begged for food. The youth replied that he would give food to the eagle on condition that he took him back to the world, and to this the eagle agreed, whereupon he was given the deer. The youth then mounted the eagle's back and it flew away to the pit communicating with the outer world. After flying a long way, the eagle put down the youth and said that before it could go any farther it must have more food. The youth hadn't food of any kind so he cut flesh from around his ankles and gave it to the eagle. With strength renewed the bird started off again, the youth still sitting on its back. After a while it once more became hungry and stopping asked for more food. This time the youth cut the flesh from behind his knees, and the eagle, having eaten it, flew away ~~again~~ once more. By this time the youth could see the stars in the far distance but the eagle grew hungry a third time and on this occasion had to be refreshed by flesh cut from the youth's sides; and before the world was reached the youth had been compelled to cut flesh from under his arms and from around his neck. (This explains why we are shaped as we are). At long last the eagle succeeded in carrying the youth out of the pit to the surface above and putting him down it asked for still more food. By this time, however, the youth had no more flesh to spare so he told the eagle that he might go to his farm and help himself to food. It is owing to this promise that eagles steal chickens, young pigs and young lambs.

Bo-zang Yoe-zang or Why quails travel by night.

People say that long ago Bo-zang Yoe-zang took people for rent and ate them. Once, ~~being abroad gather in~~ when they were abroad collecting their rent, they approached a childless Chinese home in which there were only an old woman and an old man, ~~The two~~ who said to each other: "Tomorrow Bo-zang Yoe-zang, reaping humans for rent, will be here, whatever shall we do ?" That night it rained, suddenly and heavily. Hearing a small child crying behind the house, ~~an~~ the old woman awoke her husband, saying: "Get up, old man, Bo-zang Yoe-zang are due, and now I hear a child crying at the back of the house; get up at once and bring in the child, we'll give it to Bo-zang Yoe-zang. "Upon going out, the man found a child whose name was Mao-yao-lü. When Bo-zang Yoe-zang arrived the child was handed to them and Bo-zang ate him. After a few minutes Bo-zang had such a pain in her stomach that she rolled to and fro on the floor. Yoe-zang said: "Do you think you have eaten the ubiquitous Mao-yao-lü?" Bo-Zang asked: "Are you the ubiquitous Mao-yao-lü ?"
"I am", came the answer from her inside. "Then come forth quickly from my mouth', said Bo-zang, To this which Mao-yao-lü replied: "If I come through your mouth, I fear your teeth will bite me"; but taking a small knife, ~~Mao-yao-lü~~ Re slit an opening in Bo-zang's side, and ~~came~~ sprang out. ~~He then changed~~ Changing into a pear, Mao-yao-lü ~~and~~ attached himself to the end of a branch of a pear tree ~~branch~~. They were about to depart when Bo-zang said to Yoe-zang: "Old man", old man, ~~oh that~~ ! wish I could have a pear to eat! It would make me

inexpressibly happy", and looking up she saw on the very edge of the tree a pear gorgeously yellow and ripe. "Go up and get ~~it~~ that pear for me", she cried. Yoe-zang found climbing the tree very exhausting, as it made him pant for breath, but the shaking of the tree caused Mao-yao-lü to fall to the ground. Bo-zang called out: "Old man, don't climb up, the pear has fallen", and taking it up Bo-zang ate it, remarking that it was very sweet and that it gave her great pleasure. After a short while she cried out: "Old man, old man, my stomach is very painful". Yoe-zang said: "Do you think you have eaten Mao-yao-lü?" "Are you Mao-yao-lü?" asked Bo-zang. "I am," came the answer. "Come out through my mouth", called Bo-zang. "If I come through your mouth I fear your teeth will bite me", replied Mao-yao-lü, but taking a small knife he slit an opening and emerged from Bo-zang's side. Becoming afraid of the ubiquitous Mao-yao-lü, Bo-zang Yoe-zang ran away under the earth. Mao-yao-lü pursued them with a long, iron rod, and thrusting it into the earth he made those bottomless pits which are sometimes met with (in Yunnan and Kweichou). Unable to make good their escape Bo-zang Yoe-zang came out, whereupon they were captured by Mao-Yao-lü who bound them to the abyss into which all waters flow (the Hua Miao don't understand the sea, they think that all the waters flow into a great hole). Mao-yao-lü ordered the crows and magpies to take food to Bo-zang Yoe-zang, and appointed the quails to guard them. But the crows and magpies ate the quails which became so

afraid that now they always travel by night, and never travel during the day.

Doo-zang the Deceiver, or Where the echo comes from.

People say that once upon a time there was one Doo-zang who was very skilled in deceiving folk. One day he heard that the husband and wife of a Hua Miao family were preparing meat, cakes and eggs to take to their mother-in-law who was seriously ill. Changing into a monkey, Doo-zang hastened on ahead of the Miao and about half way along the road he lay down feigning death. When the man and his wife arrived at this spot they saw the dead monkey. Said the woman, "I have heard that to cure the illness of our mother-in-law she needs to eat monkey flesh and to be covered with monkey skin. Let us take this monkey, and, covering our mother-in-law with the skin, we'll give her the flesh to eat and see if she gets better." Taking up the monkey and placing it in the basket which he carried on his shoulders, the man bore it away. Doo-zang quietly ate as much of the meat, eggs and cakes as he could, and then suddenly jumped out of the basket, knocking over the man in doing so, and running away he called out "Thank you, thank you." Opening up their things, the two discovered that there was not much of their provisions left.

Nonplussed they didn't know what to do. Meanwhile Doo-zang, running on ahead entered the house of the mother-in-law and said to her, "Go out quickly and gather some firewood, as your daughter and her husband are coming with food for you". The woman replied, "I'm too ill to get up, I cannot gather firewood". Doo-zang said, "Oh pull yourself together and gather a little to-day, tomorrow your son-in-law will gather it for you." The old woman got up and went out to gather firewood. Taking up a skirt and bodice and putting them on, Doo-zang lay down by the side of the fire. Before long the visitors arrived and called out, "Are you at home ?" A feeble voice answered, "Yes, come in." Going in they enquired, "Are you a little better ?" "Yes," replied Doo-zang, "I am a little better, but I've been very ill and I've been waiting for you a long time." They said, "When we heard you were sick we prepared meat, cakes and eggs to bring to you, but when we had come half way on our journey we saw a dead monkey lying on the road. Taking him up, we carried him to bring him for you, but he turned out to be Doo-zang and he ate most of the provisions, so we have not much for you." "Didn't you know Doo-zang deceives people ?" asked the feeble voice. "What a pity he got the eatables ! What have you left ?" "Not much," was the reply. "I very much want something nice to eat," said the feeble voice, "Cut off a piece of meat for me, and give me it with a cake." They did as requested, and after heating the cake handed it and the meat to the invalid. After a short time the mother-in-law came back carrying the firewood.

~~whereupon Doo-zang~~ Doo-zang, hearing her throw down her load, jumped up suddenly, and, casting off his woman's garments, ran off laughing, "Ha, ha:" As he ~~ran~~ scampered out of the hut he knocked the old woman down. The man and wife exclaimed, "Now truly we haven't anything, he has eaten almost everything. We both thought it was our mother-in-law, but alas, it was Doo-zang." The mother-in-law then ~~explained~~ told them how Doo-zang had come, and they in turn explained how they had been deceived. By that time there remained only one large cake, two eggs and two pieces of meat, ~~which~~ and then were eaten by the mother-in-law.

As he was going along the road Doo-zang saw in the distance a Chinese riding a horse and coming towards him. Taking a white stick and leaning on it, Doo-zang hobbled along saying, "What I need each day I seek each day. What I need each day I seek each day." Then, taking the stick in both hands, he threw it forward, and, running to where it fell, he took up a cake (he had already placed it there). Taking the stick again, he threw it to the side of the road, and running to where it had fallen, he took up a piece of meat (which he had put there before). Once more throwing the stick and following it, he took up an egg (which he had placed there previously). The Chinese, who had come up and watched Doo-zang act in this manner, said, "That stick of yours is very wonderful, would you be willing to change it for my horse ?" Doo-zang replied, "My stick is easily manipulated and I can use it whenever I want anything to eat, your horse

will take a lot of looking after; I don't want it." To this the Chinese said, "Come, come, let us make an exchange." Doo-zang again said he was not willing to exchange. The Chinese said, "I very much want to exchange with you." Doo-zang replied, "If you really wish to make an exchange, it will be on condition that afterwards neither changes his mind." "If I change my mind," said the Chinese, "let the earth call out, and if you change your mind let heaven call out." "Good," replied Doo-zang, and effecting the exchange ~~being effected~~ Doo-zang rode away. Highly delighted with himself, the Chinese took the stick in both hands as he had seen Doo-zang do, and throwing it forward ran to where it had fallen, when, instead of there being a cake, there was a heap of manure. He threw it to the side of the road, and, hastening to where it had dropped ~~fallen~~, again came on a heap of manure. This made him so furious that making his way to the upper side of a forest, he angrily flung the stick away to the further ~~other~~ side of the wood. As it fell it hit a man. A companion who was standing near called out, "Who has struck his yen-ching (eye) ?" The Chinese, thinking the man had said "ye-chi" (pheasant), called back, "I struck it, I struck it;" and he hastened to secure the pheasant. "Where is it ?" he asked. "A little further down," said the bystander. Going further down, the Chinese discovered he had knocked out a man's eye. He would have run away, but some one cried out, "Catch him, catch him, it was he who threw the stick." He was seized and beaten; and though he explained how he had been deceived by Doo-zang

He was
~~They~~ compelled ~~him~~ to pay out to the injured man a good deal of money as compensation. When this trouble was settled he went off to find Doo-zang. On encountering Doo-zang the Chinese ~~who, on meeting~~ him, asked ~~him~~ what he wanted. ~~The Chinese answered,~~ "I've come about that stick of yours for which you beguiled me to part with a good horse," was the answer. "I used your stick, but got nothing. I threw it away and hit a man, and I have had to pay out a lot of money, so I've come to get back my horse." Doo-zang replied, "At first I didn't wish to change with you, but you said three times that you wanted to make an exchange, and it was only then that I agreed. At the time you said that if later I changed my mind, let heaven call out, if you changed yours, the earth was to call out. What have you got to say to that ?" Knowing that sooner or later the Chinese would rue and come back about this matter, Doo-zang had already dug a large hole under his household fire, and in this hole he had stabled the horse. While the Chinese was talking Doo-zang busied himself heating water, and at an opportune moment he kicked over the earthenware pot containing the water which had now boiled, and this running down into the unseen hole, scalded the horse, causing it to kick and jump and neigh loudly; upon which Doo-zang said, "You see, you lament and come here, and now the earth calls out. What is to be done about it ?" Terrified, the Chinese jumped up and started to run out of the house, but his top-knot struck against the lintel. Taking out a knife, Doo-zang cut off the top-knot; and now Chinese never knot

their hair on top of the head. Getting outside, the Chinese ran away.

Doo-zang caused so much trouble that finally he was captured by Nuze-fah-lao who placed him in a cave on a cliff from which he can never escape. When he hears anyone call he can still imitate them, but he cannot injure them. The echo of one's voice is Doo-zang.

A tiger story.

An old father and mother feeling that they were about to die called their elder son to them and exhorted him, after their death, to care for his little brother and sister; and he promised that he would do so. A little while later the parents died and being changed into tigers they roamed the hills together. The elder brother was very unkind to his little brother and sister, leaving them unfed and unclothed. They roamed the fields to gather wild strawberries which constituted their principal food. Once as they were gathering these berries, the tigers saw them, and watching them from a distance, knew they were their children. They felt very sorry for them so the next day they gathered a lot of strawberries

and put them in the way of the children. This they did again and again and by degrees they spoke to the children who after a while were not afraid of them. When the children were cold the tigers would warm them and during bad weather the only warmth the children knew was when they were with the tigers. One day the elder brother, seeing the children in a valley whither they had gone to seek food, called to them that they were to come away from there. One of the tigers whispered to the children that they should entice the brother down, and this they did. When he came near the old father tiger slipped off his tiger skin and asked him why he had not kept his promise and without more ado proceeded to give him a good thrashing. After this the elder brother cared for his younger sister and brother until they were married and then the old tigers died.

The girl who married a lizard.

People say that once upon a time there was an old Miao who went to dig his land, and with the exception of one huge stone which was in the middle of the ground, he delved the whole of it. Standing near this stone the man said three times, "I have three daughters; whoever will come and roll away this stone shall marry one of them." A green lizard came out and said to the man that if he would really give him one of his daughters to wed he would roll away the stone. The man replied that he would keep his word, whereupon the lizard winding his tail around the stone trundled it down the hill into the valley. When the stone was removed however the old man said to the lizard, "I must give my daughter to a man; how can I give her to you ? I was deceiving you." "In that case," answered the lizard, "I'll roll back the stone." "All right, do so," replied the man. Winding its tail around the stone the lizard rotated it up the hill into its original position. "You are clever my son-in-law," said the man, "I'll certainly give you one of my daughters". The stone was rolled away a second time and then the man started out to take the lizard home; the farmer, who carried a hoe, walked behind, the lizard went ahead. Grasping the hoe the man stealthily aimed a blow at the lizard which jumping to the side of the road asked why his father-in-law acted in such a way. He replied that the hoe had slipped from his hand so the lizard came back to the road.

A second time the man struck at the lizard with his hoe and once more the lizard leaping ~~jumping~~ to one side asked why his father-in-law should behave in this ~~such~~ a manner. The same answer ~~reply~~ was made as before. Arriving at his home the farmer said, "Eldest girl bring a stool for my son-in-law to sit on." "I bring a stool for a lizard to sit on," replied his daughter, "I will only bring a stool for a young man to sit on." The farmer then asked his second girl but she made the same response ~~reply~~. "Youngest girl (La-ndzoe)" he called, "bring a stool for my son-in-law to sit on." "All right, I'll bring one," was the reply, and bringing a stool, she handed it to the lizard. The men then said, "Eldest girl bring food for my son-in-law to eat," to which she replied, "if I bring food, it will be for a young man, I've no time to bring food for a lizard." The second girl made the same rejoinder ~~reply~~, but not so La-ndzoe who brought the food. "Eldest girl go and make up a bed for my son-in-law to sleep in," called the farmer. "If I make a bed, it will be for a young men to sleep in, I've no time to make one for a lizard," was the answer. The same reply was made by the second girl but La-ndzoe prepared the bed. "Eldest girl take my son-in-law to sleep," called the man. "If I take anyone to sleep, it will be a young man, I've no time to take a lizard," said the girl; and the second girl made the same reply, but the youngest girl went with the lizard.

Turning to his wife the farmer said, "Wife light a torch and with this wooden mallet we'll go and beat the lizard, we cannot let our youngest girl sleep with a lizard. Lighting a torch the wife and her husband carrying his mallet went to the out-house to kill the lizard, but, when they got there, they saw not a lizard, but a handsome young man. Feeling ashamed of themselves for having looked in upon their daughter they very quietly retired.

At daylight when the lizard got up he said, "Mother-in-law, father-in-law, let us sing to one another." The man replied, "You, son-in-law, sing first." He sang. "Father-in-law took a mallet, mother-in-law a torch." "You are clever son-in-law," said the man, "truly I brought a mallet and truly the old woman brought a torch."

After breakfast La-ndzoe went away with the lizard to be his spouse and not knowing whither she would be taken she asked her mother to give her a handful of hemp seed so that as she journeyed she might sprinkle it by the wayside to mark the route they followed. Coming to a river the lizard explained that he must wash in it and that on no account was his wife to touch the water. He then jumped into the river whereupon the water became rough and choppy and the girl touched it; immediately her hand turned green. After a short while there stepped from the river a handsome young man who licked away the green colouring from the girl's hand. He wore a Hua Miao festive gown and cotton trousers.

After a long while the mother, ~~being~~ anxious about the welfare of La-ndzoe, went off to look for her, and she was accompanied by her eldest daughter. Following the hemp which had grown from the seeds they walked until they came to a huge stone, around which hemp was growing but, from which no road led away ~~from it~~. In distress the mother bumped her head against this stone whereupon ~~when~~ it swung aside, and revealed beyond, another country, wonderfully beautiful. Grass and trees were plentiful and large numbers of cattle were grazing. Mother and daughter passed ~~through this entrance~~ in and not knowing for whom they should enquire they said to the people who were tending the cattle that they were looking for the house of Mr Lizard. "Oh," said the people, "we are his tenants, his castle is over there." Crossing a ~~large~~ wide stretch of ground they came to the castle of a very wealthy landowner and here they were warmly welcomed by La-ndzoe who was now the mother of a fine baby boy. After staying a long while the old mother returned home, but the eldest girl, ~~being~~ jealous of the good fortune which had attended her youngest sister, decided to prolong her visit ~~stay~~ on. One day, while the sisters were out walking, the eldest carrying the baby, the child began to cry. This was really because the girl had nipped the child's foot, but when the mother asked why the babe was crying, her sister pointed to a large flower growing by the side of a huge hole and said that the child wanted that flower. La-ndzoe went over to pluck it and just as she was bending down her sister pushed her so that she fell headlong into the pit.

When the husband returned home he was distraught with grief at the loss of his wife, and though the eldest sister offered to marry him, he was unwilling and had as little to do with her as possible, knowing instinctively that she was the cause of the loss of La-ndzoe. Day after day he wandered about seeking his wife and once as he was passing the pit he saw a wagtail which called to him and asked if his little boy was well. Thinking that this bird might be his wife he held up his hand and said, "If you are friendly disposed towards me, fly to my hand, if you are not, fly away". Exhibiting no fear the bird flew on to his hand, and taking it home he tended it most carefully. Every day when the people were out the wagtail washed the little boy with her wings, and combed his hair with her claws, and the boy grew up astonishingly quickly. The eldest sister became jealous of this bird so one day she caught it and threw ~~the bird~~ it into the fire. When the father came in, he asked where the bird was, and was told that it had flown into the fire and been ~~destroyed~~ incinerated. In great distress he sought amongst the ashes where he found a little, round, beautifully marked stone. He took up the stone, and, intending to give it to his boy to play with, placed it by the side of a large jar of water into which the stone accidentally fell and was forgotten. Some time afterwards it began to be whispered that when people had left the house a beautiful girl stepped from the water-jar, prepared the food for the family and swept up the house, but

by the evening when people returned the girl was gone. One day an old servant stopped to watch. He remained quiet for a long time and then suddenly thrusting open the door he burst into the room and behold! there was the beautiful girl. She ran towards the water-jar but grabbing her by the wrist the old servant would not let her go. "Save me", she cried, and to do this he tied round her wrist a piece of red wool. When the father and sister came in and saw the beautiful girl, the sister fell down dead and immediately changed into a bamboo which grew so quickly that the beautiful girl and her husband couldn't meet each other, since when one was at one side of the bamboo, the other was at the opposite side. "Oh!" Called the woman, "we shall never be able to meet. You change into bees' wax and I will change into indigo and then we shall meet." At the present time when Miao dye their garments they often use indigo, and they "stop out" designs by means of a coating of bees' wax. Bamboo is used to fasten together the boards which make the dyeing vat so that whenever cloth is dyed the three are brought together... the wax, the dye and the bamboo.

(Another version says that the husband and the beautiful girl were changed into butterflies and in this way were able to meet and fly away together).

(Since I wrote the above I have read a similar story in "Chinese Folk-lore" by the Rev. J. Macgowan... "The King of the Snakes", p.212).

Who is great ?

People say that long, long ago there lived an Ipien who had an only daughter whose hand was asked in marriage by many suitors, but the father refused to give her to any of them. He said, "I'll only give her to some one of very great power." People told him that in this world he wouldn't find anyone of sufficient greatness, "Only heaven is great," said they. Thereupon the Ipien went and said to heaven, "People say you are great, I wish to give my daughter to be your wife." Heaven replied, "I am indeed great, but the clouds are able to overcast me, so I am not so great as they." Going to the clouds, the Ipien said to them, "Heaven says you are great, I wish to give my daughter to be your wife." The clouds replied "I am indeed great, but if a big wind comes and blows, I disappear, it is the wind which is great." The Ipien went and said to the wind, "The clouds say you are great, I wish to give my daughter to be your wife." "I am indeed great," replied the wind, "but the high hills, I cannot blow them over; large trees I have blown over but not hills, it is the hills which are great." Going to the hills, the Ipien said, "The wind says you are great, I wish to give my daughter to be your wife." Said the hills, "I am indeed great, but there are two armadillos which daily make holes in me, it is the armadillo which is

great." The Ipien went to the armadillo and said, "The hills say you are great, I wish to give my daughter to be your wife." The armadillo replied, "I am indeed great, but there are two dogs which pursue us; and being unable to escape we make these holes into which we may flee; it is the dog which is great." The Ipien said, "I am a man of great possessions, my daughter is beautiful, give her to be the wife of a dog I will not; still, beginning from heaven I've asked throughout the earth and none is so great as the dog. I'll allow the dog to wed her." So the dog took away his daughter. (The Chinese say the Ipien are descended from dogs, and how the Ipien resent it!) After the lapse of a year the father, who was very fond of his girl, followed after her. When he arrived the dog was delighted, and placing a cauldron on the fire to prepare food for the guest, he quickly whisked it clean with his tail. This made the man laugh, "Ha, ha," whereupon the dog went out. His daughter said, "My husband was going to kill an animal (a goat or a sheep) for you to eat; you shouldn't have laughed; now he has gone off to bring his friends to bite you. I'll give you a handful of feathers from the wing of a chicken and ten wooden spoons, and you must hasten away; when you've gone one li (a third of an English mile) throw down a feather, when you've gone a second li throw down a spoon, and continue on this wise." The father followed his daughter's advice, and

after going one li threw away a feather, at the end of a second li, a spoon. Before he had gone far, the dog together with his companions came pursuing. Seeing a feather the dog said, "This is from one of my chickens," and taking it in his mouth he took it back home (the idea of this is to indicate the fidelity of the dog). On returning, the dog came upon a spoon, whereupon he said, "This is one of my spoons," and taking it in his mouth he went off home with it. For a whole day the dog behaved in this wise, and being unable to overtake the father-in-law, he returned home.

A year later a leopard came and took off the dog. One day, when the dog's wife was sitting in the doorway, a crow came and, strutting to and fro, sought something to eat. Said the woman to the crow, "Crow, a leopard has taken off and eaten my husband, leaving me all alone. I cannot live like this. Please fly and tell my parents to come and take me away." The crow flew to her parents' home, and cawed, saying, "wa wa! wa! the leopard has eaten your son-in-law, your daughter cannot bear it and wants you to go and bring her away." The parents, hearing the cawing, asked some one to go out to see who was calling. Some children went out to see what it was, but saw nothing. After a while the crow cawed again, "wa wa! wa! the leopard has eaten your son-in-law, your daughter cannot bear it, and wants you to go and bring her away." The children

went out again and when they returned and were asked what they had seen said they saw only a crow. The mother went out and asked, "What are you saying ?" The crow answered, "The leopard has eaten your son-in-law, your daughter cannot bear it and wants you to go and bring her away." The woman replied, "If what you say is true, fly, and dye yourself in this vat, should you be dyed black it must be true." The crow flew into the vat, but though he was dyed very black (and this is how he became black) the parents refused to believe him. Thirteen days later, having received no word from her parents, the girl, seeing a dove come and seek food at her door, said to it, "Dove, a leopard has taken off and eaten my husband, leaving me all alone, I cannot live like this. Please fly and tell my parents to come and take me away." The dove flew away, and, alighting upon her father's garden fence, cooed, saying, "Doo, doo, the leopard has eaten your son-in-law, your daughter cannot bear it, and wants you to go and bring her away." Hearing this, the Ipien sent the children out to see what was calling. The children went out, but all they could see was a dove sitting on the garden fence, and going back they reported what they had seen. After a little while the dove called again, "Doo, doo, the leopard has eaten your son-in-law, your daughter cannot bear it, and wants you to go and bring her away." The mother went out and seeing the dove said to it, "What are you

saying ?" The dove replied, "The leopard has eaten your son-in-law, your daughter cannot bear it, and wants you to go and bring her away." "If what you say is true, fly and dye yourself in this vat; should you be dyed dove-coloured it must be true." The dove flew into the vat and was dyed dove-coloured (this is why it is so coloured). Thereupon the girl's father and brothers went to investigate. When they arrived the leopard had eaten the dog; only the bones were left; and on and about these, crows and magpies were gathered in great numbers. Screaming with a loud voice the men drove away the birds. Now, whenever Ipien hold a mass for the dead, they scream with a loud voice.

(In one version which I heard a magpie was the second bird to bear the girl's message. When it came out of the dye, being quicker than the crow, it shook itself vigorously thereby getting rid of some of the dye; and this is why the magpie is black and white).

The man in the moon

Three women went to a spring to draw water. As they were returning a crow cawed, "Wa, wa, you woman at the back will give birth to a toad." Hurrying forward the said woman got into the middle. The crow cawed again, "Wa, wa, you woman in the middle will give birth to a toad." When the woman reached home, as she sat by the fire her knee began to itch. She rubbed it and rubbed it and by-and-by an egg came out. This she placed in a basket near to the fire and presently a toad was hatched. It grew quickly, but would never leave the fire. Sometimes the mother would go out and leave the toad to look after the house, but he always asked that he might have a fly-whisk to keep away the fowls. When he grew to maturity, the mother decided to get him a wife. Living in a near-by house were three unmarried sisters, and the mother requested that one of these should marry her offspring. The eldest and second girls were unwilling, but the youngest girl, consenting, wove wedding garments for the toad and later married him. One day Ndze-ki-niao asked the toad to play the pipes at a big sacrificial feast. His mother and wife also went to the feast, but the toad, allowing them to go before him, took a circuitous route and reached the gathering first. Here pulling off his toad skin and dressing himself in gorgeous clothes he played

the pipes with incomparable skill. The sacrifices ended he slipped away, and when his mother and wife reached home they found the toad holding his whisk and sitting huddled up over the fire. They told him of the wonderful young man who had been there.

A second time Ndze-ki-niao asked him to play the pipes, and once more after his mother and wife had left he pulled off his toad skin and went to the festival where again he appeared as the handsome youth in showy dress. As he was dancing and playing his pipes he passed close to his wife, who, catching hold of him, said what an attractive young man he was. In great anger he said, "I don't know you." When he left, the master-of-ceremonies gave him as a reward the leg of a cow. He was home before his mother and wife, who, when they returned scolded him for being a useless good-for-nothing; and they described to him the graceful youth who had played the pipes so enchantingly. "Oh," said the toad, "I am not so useless as you imagine, I have got a leg of meat for you to eat," and he showed them his prize. His wife understood, and highly incensed grabbed him, pulled off his toad skin and threw it into the fire. "Now I shall die," said the toad, "and you must bury me on yonder plain above the hill," and he pointed to the moon. He died, and they buried him by the side of the tree which on a clear night you may discern in the moon.

Why the cow draws the plough

People say that in the beginning a Miao went to dig with a hoe, and he sent his cow to graze on the edge of his patch of ground. Delving made the man very, very tired, so he stopped to rest awhile. Seeing him reposing the cow said, "Can you make a yoke and a plough ? If you can, I'll plough the land with you, and when the harvest is ripe we shall divide it, each taking a half." The Miao said he could, and going off he cut down a tree out of which he fashioned a yoke and made a plough. When they were finished the man, carrying them on his shoulders, drove the cow to the ground which he desired to cultivate. Slipping the yoke on the cow's neck and attaching the plough, the man guided the cow as it pulled. When the land was ploughed, the corn-seed was sown. By the time of the cow (9th) and tiger (10th) moons the harvest was ripe; and, after gathering it in, the man divided it, giving the stalks to the cow and taking all the grain for himself. Said the man to the cow, "Though we worked together for the crops I have given you the larger half of the harvest;" to which the cow replied, "Because my work is more fatiguing than yours it is right that I should have the greater share." The cow's division of the harvest was sufficient food only until the horse (2nd) and sheep (3rd) moons, by which time it had

nothing whatever to eat. When the man took out the cow to plough, being well-nigh famished it said, "I am very, very hungry, I truly cannot draw the plough." Upon this the man beat the cow's back with a whip, saying, "Hurry, finish your ploughing." The cow replied, "Allow me first to go and eat a little grass, and afterwards I'll draw the plough." The man refused to grant this request, whereupon the cow said to him, "Then I'll go and indict you to the landlord." "Do as you like, ~~said~~ replied the man. Thereupon the cow, dragging the yoke and plough, went to the home of the land-owner who enquired what it wanted. The cow replied, "The man and I together ploughed the land and worked for the crops; we had discussed the matter and decided that when the harvest was ripe ~~we should divide it~~ it would be divided equally; but the man gave me the stalks only, so when he drove me out to plough I was too hungry to draw the plough, whereupon the man, taking a whip, beat my back, making it smart terribly, and that is why I have come to you." The landlord asked the man if this were true. The man replied, "It is quite true; because I had already given the cow the greater half of the harvest I did not feed it." The land-owner said to the cow, "You must go back now; I want you to exert all your strength in assisting the man to prepare the crops, and I'll see that the man gives you something to eat." He then told the man that henceforth he must share a little of the grain with the cow;

to which the man replied, "I promise to give it a little to eat." They went back and together prepared the crops as before. When the harvest was ripe, the man once again divided only the stalks to the cow, saying, "Now, since there is so much, there certainly will be sufficient for you to eat." The cow ate until the horse and sheep moons, and then had nothing to eat. When the man took out the cow to plough, the cow, having nothing to eat, was so hungry that it couldn't draw the plough. Taking a whip, the man beat the cow's back, saying, "Pull quickly and get the work finished." But the cow couldn't pull, so dragging both yoke and plough it went to lay its complaint before Ndze-ki-niao. When it got there the cow said to Ndze-ki-niao, "Formerly I said to the man, we will plough together, and when the harvest is ripe we will divide it, each taking a half; but when the harvest was ripe the man gave me ~~only~~ only the stalks, and so I had not sufficient to eat. Being famished, I couldn't draw the plough, whereupon the man beat my back with a whip until it pained terribly, so I've come to tell you about it." Ndze-ki-niao asked the man if this were true. The man answered, "It is quite true; because I had divided the greater half of the harvest to the cow I didn't feed it." Ndze-ki-niao then said to the cow, "You are to go back and exert all your strength in assisting the man to prepare his crops; the

man must shelter you in his house, he must protect you against the tiger and the leopard, and he must give you grain to eat. I will also send to the world two sheep and two goats to be your companions. If a man has guests who visit him, he may kill a sheep or a goat to entertain them; but he must not kill a cow for this purpose. And henceforth I'll not permit you to have the power of speaking the language of men, nor will man be allowed to have the power of speaking the language of cows." (This is why at the present day the cow draws the plough and is fed on grain; and why when guests are entertained it is customary to kill a sheep or a goat).

CHAPTER VIII

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusion

In this final section it seems desirable to review the culture peculiar to these people and to summarize whatever we have found of value to an understanding of civilization. Let me say at the outset that after living amongst the Hua Miao for a number of years I have formed the opinion that the differences between a primitive people and ourselves are largely on the surface; they are differences of degree only. With them as with us life is an integral social whole made up of interdependent parts, and though, so as to understand it more fully, we dissect it, we must bear in mind that it is a harmonious organic structure. Hua Miao mental machinery is similar to our own and they think by the same rules of logic as we do. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that amongst primitive people social, cultural and psychological beliefs are so closely interwoven that one cannot be understood without having regard to all the others. On first coming into contact with a people whose way of life is distinct from our own the differences obtrude themselves, but after a while things which seemed strange no longer appear so. Travellers are more prone to emphasize the bizarre than the normal, superstitions than knowledge, errors of judgment than sound reasoning. The

traveller sees the crude and simple and overlooks the fact that amongst primitive peoples one may meet with every type of person, even the philosopher who asks whence we came, why this, why that, and whither are we going. Amongst the Hua Miao I see many of my English friends; by this I mean that in Miao land I have met with natives in whom I discover all the characteristics of people I know in England. Hua Miao have their joys and sorrows, hopes, aspirations, dreams and economic struggles.

My study of these people has led me to infer that however important environment is, we cannot regard it as exclusively responsible for the development of culture. Otherwise why have the Chinese who now occupy lands once owned by the Miao developed a different culture ? It is worth while noticing that the Hua Miao have been singularly little influenced by Chinese civilization. Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism do not appear to have had any power to affect these primitives who though hemmed in by a stronger and better organized culture have rigorously preserved their own magico-religious beliefs and practices. In these, from our viewpoint, magic and religion often merge into each other, but to the Hua Miao magic is magic and religion is religion, though for neither have I been able to find a native term. A man suddenly experiences a

severe, darting pain in his chest. He argues that some one has released an invisible arrow and wounded him. The sh-yoe-nêh is called. He comes; applying his lips to the place where the arrow entered he sucks out the imaginary poison and the injured man grows well. Magic ! Yes, but it works and in such an instance undoubtedly fulfils a definite social service. A young woman gathering firewood is fascinated by a bi-ndzao which allures her farther and farther into the grove but it ever eludes her. She tells her mother who consults an sh-yoe-nêh. With a branch of a peach tree and an egg the sh-yoe-nêh ensures that the bi-ndzao will never return; and it doesn't return. Bees' wax, red shoes, fowls' excretions, a black cross marked on the forehead of a child, all these are used to keep away maleficent bi-glang. It should be noted that in many of these magical rites there is a very definite element of faith. Whether or not a cure is effected or a spell is cast people believe in the power to control unseen forces, and faith enables them to detect results. A psychologist would find a good deal of valuable material in the beliefs and practices of sh-yoe-nêh. If however I were asked whether on the whole Hua Miao magic is beneficial to the individual or to the community I would say that it is not; viewed sociologically it tends to become anti-social as sorcerers can inspire

natives with such deep dread and constant concern that its influence is degrading.

The belief in the existence of the souls of the dead exercises considerable influence on the life of these people, and though it perhaps helps to inculcate filial piety it is not, I think, advantageous to the community. Generally speaking Hua Miao fear the dead and ancestor worship is as much for the good of the living as for the consolation of the deceased. The souls of the dead are dangerous, the cause of sickness and death. There are times when one detects affection but usually dread is the supreme motive for offering sacrifices which are made to propitiate and to cajole; there is nothing uplifting in this.

Man is a creature of emotion as well as of reason, and I think that in the Hua Miao worship of mountains, groves, trees and the door we may find the seed of religion. Here I am treading on dangerous ground as it is well known that anthropologists are neither agreed as to the origin nor the content of religion. Most however would agree that it is an attitude of mind desirous of obtaining more life, whether here or hereafter. In the presence of the mountain and the grove a Hua Miao feels his littleness and weakness and seeks some Power which will protect him against disease (i.e. give him more life). I have observed in a previous section that I have

found no belief in what may be called a supreme being but in Hua Miao nature-worship there does seem to emerge the wish or the need for a Divine Thou. For example, when worshipping the door the formula used is:- "Keep away sickness. Keep away disease. Keep away slander. Keep away defamation. Keep away all that is injurious." In the presence of the mountain there is an awfulness, the "numinous" of which Rudolf Otto writes in his "Idea of the Holy". The mountain has wisdom and strength; it is able to protect crops and safeguard against typhoid and small-pox. In its presence there is a sense of something transcending the natural, a sense of the Extraordinary, Mysterious, or Supernatural. The guardian tree can watch over the village, defend against wild animals and prevent destructive rains and diseases. It is sturdy and long enduring. The sacred stone lasts for ever. Water comes and goes, but the stone, strong and stable, is always standing. The door, the mountain, the trees seem to evoke an attitude of mind which is psychologically indistinguishable from that evoked by universally acknowledged religious objects.

It ought to be remarked too that Hua Miao religion is social rather than individual and herein possibly primitive people have ideas that would aid western civilization which

tends to become overwhelmingly individualistic. Amongst these people the community is of greater importance than the individual.

Ethics do not appear to have religious sanctions and must be regarded as essentially social behaviour. Actions are good or bad which have been socially authorised or socially disapproved. There are recognized rules of behaviour ~~sanctioned~~ approved by custom and the man who observes them is called "straight" or "upright". Conduct which is socially authorised is correct, however different it may be from ours. A girl on attaining puberty will be encouraged to frequent the village 'flowery house' but she will be taught never to sit on her father-in-law's stool nor to walk on the upper side of his household fire. There is individual responsibility but clan and community responsibility are stronger than with us, and the control which the community has over the individual is considerable. One of the lessons I have learnt from a study of the Miao is how society can function without police to keep order. Not a single policeman is to be found amongst them and generally speaking there are no thieves.

In the section on "Social Organization" I have already dealt with Government and pointed out that custom, tradition and public opinion hold the people together and keep the

tribal life going after the approved manner of the past. This conservatism and their group solidarity are two reasons, I think, why Hua Miao culture has not progressed.

Although these people have no literature they cannot be said to be unintelligent. Their books are the hills and trees, plants and flowers, and the habits of wild animals. Indeed I have sometimes thought that were a Hua Miao to find himself like Robinson Crusoe on an unknown island he would fare better than a westerner since from childhood he has been taught to meet his every need. Education begins early and as children grow up they are instructed in the essential arts of life. All the youngsters learn how to herd the cattle; and mothers teach their girls, while still young, how to make thread, and when they are older how to weave cloth and embroider festive garments. Before she is married every girl can make her own clothes and weave whatever cloth will be needed by her future husband and progeny. She is also well informed in household duties and management. Fathers teach their small sons how to use toy bows and arrows and as they grow older they are instructed in the use of the cross-bow. Accompanying their fathers to the hills they learn how to run and hunt and track game, and how to use the axe in felling trees. Within the village they learn how to erect a house. Both sexes are

given instruction in agriculture, the boys to plough and the girls to sew, and by the time they are mature they all have an extensive practical knowledge. They know what to do if a cow or a pig or a sheep is sick and the youths can kill and cut up with dexterity any domestic animal for the cooking pot. They have a surprisingly extensive vocabulary and can name practically all the flowers, herbs, grasses and trees. It is a mistake to think that because people are primitive their vocabulary will be limited. This is far from being so. A Miao friend of mine has three words for three different kinds of wild violets all of which I designate by the one word "violet". Knowing which plants are edible the Hua Miao have resort to them during famine years and can sustain themselves when less skilful people perish. Let is not be thought however that they are in every way knowledgeable since in some respects they are appallingly ignorant. The death rate amongst young children and the low level of living amongst the people generally are proof of this.

They show considerable aesthetic appreciation in the blending of red, blue and brown colours and the symmetry of the geometric designs on their embroidered clothes. An old man informed me that these designs originated in a desire to remember the irrigated fields from which they were driven by the Chinese.

STAT

APPENDIX I - II - III

APPENDIX I

Hua Miao sentences and classifiers.

Method of Romanisation: As far as possible I have tried to express the sounds in English. The following should be noted:

ā	as in fate;
a	as in father;
e	the vowel to be pronounced long and open;
ē	give the vowel a short sound as e in men;
i	as ee in see;
u	as u in run;
ü	the French u;
oe	as oe in the French word oeuf;
g	followed by i is soft, almost like a "j";
gg	a very guttural, hard g;
gü	the g is soft;
ngü	the g is soft;
ge	the g is hard as in geyser;
ki	the k is not aspirated.

1 signifies the upper even tone.
2 " " lower " "
3 " " ascending tone.
4 " " departing "

Hwa Miao words:

Man	^{3}dêh-^{3}nêh	1	^{3}i
Woman	^{3}ah-bo^{4}-	2	^{3}ah
Son	^{1}dzah-^{1}du	3	^{3}dzu
Daughter	^{1}lah-^{2}nts'ai	4	^{3}glao or ^{3}blao
Eye	^{3}ah-^{3}mah	5	^{3}bêh
Ear	^{3}ah-nbuh^{4}	6	^{2}glao
Nose	^{3}ah-^{3}nbü	7	^{3}hsiang
Hand	$_{2}$ts'ai-$_{2}$di	8	^{2}i
Foot	$^{\frac{1}{2}}$ts'ai-$_{a}$doe^{4}	9	gia^{4}
Cow	^{3}du-niu^{4}	10	^{2}gao
Pig	^{3}nba	11	^{2}gao-^{3}i
Dog	^{3}gli	20	^{2}ning-^{2}gao
Chicken	^{3}du-ggai^{4}	30	^{3}dzu-^{2}gao
River	gli^{4}	50	^{3}bêh-^{2}gao
Rice	ngli^{4}	100	^{3}i-^{2}bah
Tree	^{3}fang-^{3}ndao	1000	^{3}i-^{3}ts'ieh
Fire	$_{2}$doe	I	^{1}gu
Wind	^{3}gia	We	^{3}bi or ^{3}bi-dzao^{4}
The world	nglie^{4}-^{3}di	Thou	^{2}gü
Sun	^{3}lu-^{3}hnu	You (plural)	^{2}mi or ^{2}mi-dzao^{4}
Moon	^{3}lu-^{2}hli	He, she, it	^{2}nü
Big	^{3}hlo	They	^{2}nü-dzao^{4} or dzao^{4}
Little	^{3}shao		
Come	da^{4}	To eat	nao^{4}
Go	^{2}mao	Want	^{1}ya
Drink	hao^{4}		

A few Hwa Miao sentences:

Da va ni Come here.

Gu hi da I am not coming.

Gu ya gü I want you.

The subject, predicate and object are as in English.

Gu nao va I eat food.

Gu ya mao I am going, or I am about to go.

Questions are asked by the use of "dieh" before a statement, like the Chinese 'kei'. 給

Dieh gü ya gu Do you want me ?

Dieh ma va Have you food ?

Dieh ma dêh-nêh da Is there a man coming or Is some one coming?

Hi ma dêh-nêh da There is no one coming.

Gü ya ggah-shih What do you want?

Gü bo ggah-shih You see what, i.e. What do you see?

Du-niu zao-da-dieh The cow good very, i.e. The cow is very good.

Vi ya nao shu We are going to eat lunch.

Bi ah-sie sho-da-dieh Our hearts hot very, i.e. Our hearts are very hot (earnest).

Gu lah-nts'ai zao-ngao da dieh My daughter beautiful very, ie. My daughter is very beautiful.

In nearly all cases the singular and plural forms are the same. When nouns and pronouns are followed by other nouns their possessive form is the same as the nominative.

Gu dzah-du My son.

Gu lah-nts'ai My daughter.

Bieh is the sign of the possessive in such pronouns as Gu-bieh, mine; gŭ-bieh, thine; nŭ-bieh, his.

Gŭ ah-giang-na hi nao You why not eat, i.e. Why don't you eat?

Lu nga ni ā zao House this very good, i.e. This house is very good.

Lu nga i hi zao House that not good, i.e. That house is not good.

It will be noticed that the noun comes before the adjective, the subject before the verb and the verb before the object.

Classifiers:

✓ Lêh	as	i lêh dêh-nêh a man.
✓ Du		i du niu a cow.
✓ Gio		i gio ki-nba a patch of melons (in the ground).
✓ Glah		i glah vah a meal.
✓ Nang		i nang ndoe a book.
✓ Ch'ioe		i ch'ioe ndao a piece of cloth.
✓ Ngü		i ngü dieh a skirt.
✓ Lu		i lu ndu gli a river.
✓ Da		i da du-nbuh a fish.
✓ Ts'ai		i ts'ai doe a foot.
✓ Ngioe		i ngioe niu a pair of oxen.
✓ Dchuh		i dchuh bang a flower.
✓ Gli		i gli nieh a dollar.
✓ Tz'u		i tz'u ah-dzieh a board.
✓ Lo		i lo lu a word.
✓ Dzu		i dzu ki dchao a table.
✓ Fang		i fang ndao a tree.
✓ Dzo		i dzo gi a road.
✓ Gia		i gia gi a street.
✓ Gg'oe		i gg'oe mao a letter.
✓ Zang		i zang nu an affair.
Sang		i sang ndoe one side of a page of a book.
Bang		i bang ao a stream.
Dzêh		i dzêh ngah one storey (of a house).
✓ Hlang		i hlang doe a fire.
✓ Glo		i glo hang-bo a cloud.

APPENDIX II

Head, Nose and Height measurements:

Men:

	Head:	Cephalic Index:	Nose:	Nasal Index:	Height:
1.	B.16.0 L.18.5	86.47	B.3.6. H.4.9.	73.47	5 ft. -3½
2.	B.15.5 L.19.2	80.73	B.4.3. H.4.6	93.48	5 -1¼
3.	B.15.6 L.18.3	85.24	B.3.5 H.4.4	79.54	4 -11
4.	B.15.2 L.19.1	78.01	B.3.9 H.4.5	86.67	4 -11¾
5.	B.16.0 L.19.2	83.33	B.3.8 H.4.8	79.17	5 -6
6.	B.15.3 L.18.0	85.00	B.3.8 H.4.5	84.44	4 -9 7/8
7.	B.15.3 L.18.3	83.61	B.3.7 H.4.8	77.08	4 -11¼
8.	B.15.2 L.19.4	78.35	B.4.2 H.4.2	100.00	5 -1½
9.	B.15.7 L.19.0	82.63	B.3.7 H.4.6	80.43	5 -1 7/8
10.	B.15.3 L.19.1	80.10	B.4.0 H.4.7	85.11	4 -11 7/8
11.	B.15.3 L.19.3	79.27	B.4.0 H.4.7	85.11	5 -4¾
12.	B.15.3 L.17.4	87.93	B.3.9 H.4.6	84.78	5 -3 7/8
13.	B.15.6 L.18.2	85.71	B.3.6 H.4.8	75.00	5 -4 5/8

	Head:	Cephalic Index:	Nose:	Nasal Index:	Height:
14.	B.15.7. L.18.5	84.86	B.3.4. H.4.6	82.61	5 ft.-0 3/8
15.	B.15.8 L.17.8	88.76	B.4.2 H.4.2	100.00	5 -1 7/8
16.	B.15.6 L.18.6	83.87	B.3.7. H.4.9	75.51	5 -0¼
17.	B.14.9 L.17.8	83.71	B.3.5 H.4.3	81.40	5 -0¾
18.	B.15.2 L.18.4	82.61	B.4.0 H.4.2	95.24	5 -2¼
19.	B.15.1 L.17.9	84.36	B.4.1 H.4.8	85.41	5 -0½
20.	B.16.1 L.18.4	87.50	B.3.8 H.4.5	84.44	5 -0

Average for twenty measurements of men:

Cephalic Index: 83.60

Nasal Index: 84.44

Height: 5 ft. - 1½ ins.

Maximum cephalic index: 88.76

Minimum cephalic index: 78.01

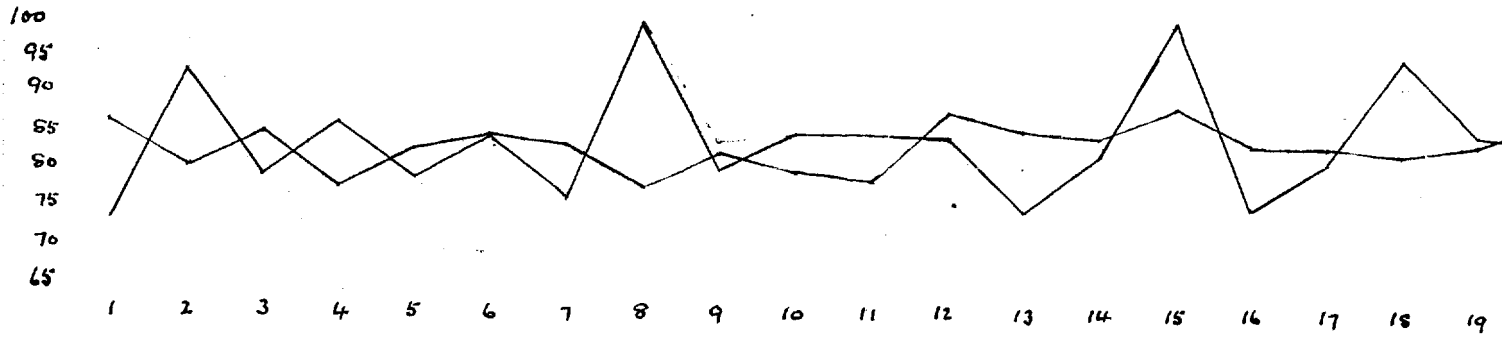
Maximum nasal index: 100.00

Minimum nasal index: 73.47

Hua Miao. M.

Red ink: Cephalic index.

Blue ink: Nasal index.



Women:

	Head:	Cephalic Index:	Nose:	Nasal Index:	Height:
1.	B.14.8 L.18.2	81.32	B.3.4 H.4.6	71.30	4 ft.- 11
2.	B.14.6 L.17.2	84.88	B.3.1 H.4.5	68.88	4 - 5½
3.	B.15.1 L.18.1	83.42	B.3.7 H.4.1	90.24	4 - 7 1/8
4.	B.15.4 L.18.1	85.08	B.3.7 H.4.1	90.24	4 - 7¼
5.	B.15.2 L.17.6	86.36	B.3.8 H.4.0	95.00	4 - 9
6.	B.15.2 L.16.6	90.96	B.3.2 H.3.8	84.21	4 - 8½
7.	B.14.8 L.17.2	86.05	B.4.0 H.4.1	97.56	4 - 11 7/8
8.	B.15.0 L.17.8	84.27	B.3.8 H.4.2	90.47	4 - 8½
9.	B.14.8 L.17.8	83.17	B.3.6 H.4.0	90.00	4 - 5 3/8
10.	B.14.5 L.17.8	81.46	B.3.5 H. 4.2	83.33	4 - 4¼
11.	B.15.6 L.18.6	83.87	B.3.6 H.3.7	97.29	4 - 7 5/8
12.	B.14.6 L.18.3	79.78	B.3.2 H.4.2	76.18	4 - 5¾
13.	B.15.7 L.17.8	88.20	B.3.6 H.4.4	81.81	4 - 8¾
14.	B.14.5 L.17.8	81.46	B.3.4 H.4.4	77.27	4 -9¾

Average for fourteen measurements of women:

Cephalic Index:	84.30
Nasal Index:	85.27
Height:	4 ft. - 8 ins.

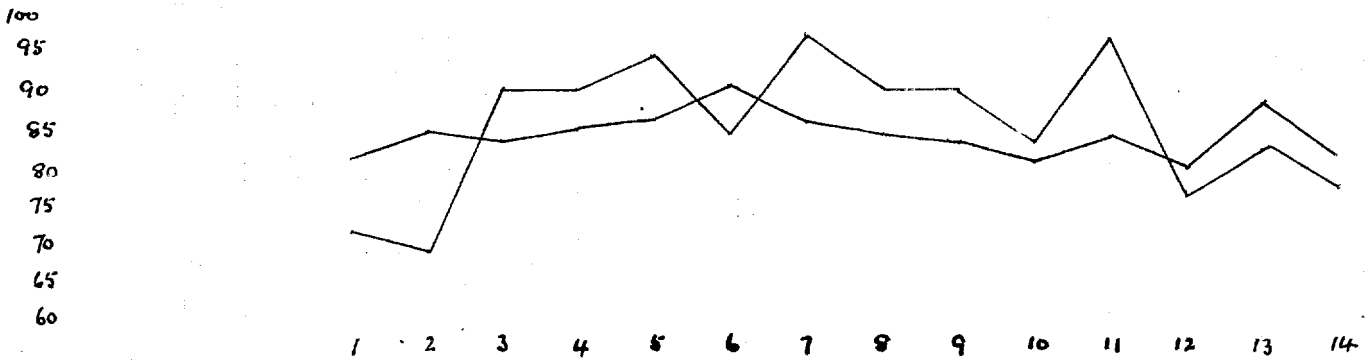
Maximum cephalic index	90.96
Minimum " "	79.78

Maximum nasal index:	97.56
Minimum " "	68.88

Hua Miao. W.

Red ink: Cephalic index.

Blue ink: Nasal index.



APPENDIX III

Hua Miao beliefs concerning "Blood", and "The Hair".

Blood: Everybody is mortally afraid of blood being brought from the outside into the house.

If a domestic animal be killed by mischance, before it is carried into the house, all blood stains are wiped off. At the door a torch is lighted and through the ascending smoke the carcase is carried into the house, the owner saying, "Let the unclean depart and only the clean come in."

Should anyone be killed or die outside the house the corpse is not taken into the house. To do this would be disastrous since it would defile the house by bringing within blood spirits, "shiu". Even the blood of an injured person may not cross the threshold.

A girl is not allowed to return to her parents' home to bear her children as the shed blood would bring disaster. Should it happen that a daughter does give birth to a child in her parents' house, the husband and father-in-law (or mother-in law) must bring a dog and cock chicken and with the help of an ah-yo e-nêh get rid of the maleficent influences. This ceremony is performed at daybreak. A hole having been made through the wall in the side of the house opposite the door, the husband and father-in-law carrying the cock and leading the dog crawl through this hole, while the ah-yoe-nêh says, "Let all

maleficent influences depart with these people." At the same time the rest of the family sit silently round the fire heating three small stones. When these are very hot they are dropped into cold water and then flung through the doorway.

The Hair: Formerly both sexes allowed the hair to grow long. They never cut it since cutting it would cause all wealth to be lost and both children and cattle would die. (Since the revolution in China, 1911-1912, all the men have been compelled to wear the hair short). Both boys and men could have the hair shaved off from around the edge of the head, but never from the crown. This was sacrosanct.

When combing their hair women comb from the roots to almost the ends of the hair only; they never bring the comb right through the ends; to do this would make it difficult for them to bear and rear children, the household cattle would die and the crops fail. The combings are put away with great care into some niche within the house; they are never thrown away, since hair carelessly cast on the ground outside the house might be used to bewitch the person who had thrown it away, or it might be trodden upon and this would cause grievous sores to break out on the head of the individual to whom the hair originally belonged.

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